THE COLUMBIAN PHENIX, AND BOSTON REVIEW.

MARCH, 1800.

FOR THE COLUMBIAN PHENIX.

THE LITERARY REVIEW, No. III.

A SUMMARY HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

By HANNAH ADAMS. [Concluded from our laſt.]

IN accompanying *Miſs Adams*, through the progreſs of her narration, we are led, progreſſively, to a deep contemplation on the inſtability of human affairs: and, it is in the indulgence of ſuch reflection, that men ſhould become wiſer and better.

As this is the moſt correct and impartial detail of thoſe great events, which led to the eſtabliſhment of this young and glorious nation, that we have peruſed; we feel intereſted in giving the merits of the Lady, as much publicity as we are able. The principles by which ſhe is actuated, are, apparently, of the nobleſt nature; ſhe is willing and eager to keep alive a due remembrance of the ſufferings and heroiſm of her countrymen, and to render the force of memory ſubſervient to the purpoſes of virtue, but not malignity: ſhe knows, that any hiſtorian who aims to make the hatred between two nations immortal, becauſe they have originally contended upon a point of right; is an enemy to human good, and does not deſerve to be quoted with honor or approbation.

In her deſcription of the various outrages and cruelties, perpetrated by the European army, ſhe is authentic, but not inflammatory: that the enormities occurred, cannot be denied; but, unhappily, ſuch inſtances are inſeparably connected with the progreſs of war,

and cannot be charged to the excluſive account of any particular nation: the people of Britain are unqueſtionably both brave and generous; and, although the ſpirit of the empire was improperly and ruinouſly directed, in that momentous conflict; we are perſuaded, that both the ſovereign and the people would have revolted from ſyſtematic barbarity. But enough has been urged upon this diſtreſſing ſubject; the Americans defended and eſtabliſhed their liberties, like heroes: and we fervently hope, that their privileges may be eternal; yet this deſire can only be accompliſhed, by rendering the general idea of freedom correſpondent with ſocial neceſſity: and in a rational obedience to the mildeſt and moſt perfect code of laws, that ever were promulgated for the regulation of mankind.

There is no part of this intereſting performance, which ſhould be more indelible with every member of both countries, than her candid and honeſt elucidation of thoſe principles and thoſe acts which led to the ſeparation of the two nations: the Author explains herſelf with conciſeneſs and fidelity: the baneful germ of contention lay in the trial to enforce the abominable *Stamp Act*, which was brought into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Charles Townſend, who concluded a ſpeech, on its introduction, to the following effect: "And now, will theſe Americans, children planted by your care, nouriſhed by your indulgence, and protected by your arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from that burthen which we lie under?" "Col. Barre took up Mr. Townſend's concluding words, in a moſt ſpirited and inimitable manner, ſaying, "*They planted* by YOUR *care!* No; your oppreſſions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhoſpitable country, where they expoſed themſelves to almoſt all the hardſhips to which human nature is liable, to the cruelty of a ſavage foe: yet actuated by principles of true Engliſh liberty, they met all hardſhips with pleaſure, compared with thoſe they ſuffered in their own country, from the hands of them, that ſhould have been their friends."

In the latter part of this work, Miſs Adams has conſented to the introduction of a paragraph, which militates, in its ſpirit, againſt the avowed tenor of the publication: we are acquainted with the name of the author, who is a perſon of confeſſed talent and high reſpectability, and directed, as we believe, by the beſt motives; yet, as it operates to throw a doubt upon the efficient and durable effects of popular virtue, we preſume to think, that the work under conſideration would have been more *conſiſtent*, without the embodying of this article; which, though well written, is not perfectly free from the hereſies of a political ſcepticiſm; if he is right, humanity is not equal to the preſervation of good: it inſinuates a proviſional doubt, to counteract an exiſting felicity; and ſeems to tell the world, that our governing health is not analogous to our phyſical vigour, and that our political bloom is the reſult of a *plethora*, and not a ſound habit.

Her encomiums on the ability, integrity

integrity and ſpirit of the Preſident are well timed and thoroughly juſt: it is the duty of all thinking and virtuous perſons to ſuſtain the public reſpect towards the Chief Magiſtrate, as it is from the influence of this veneration, that the laws derive their efficacy. If a man, ſo illuſtrious in action and confirmed in principle as JOHN ADAMS, can poſſibly be falſe to his great truſt, there can be no future reliance on the public or private merits of any individual: our imbecility will give the lie to our hope, and we muſt be deſtroyed through the medium of that exertion, which was employed to ſupport our happineſs.

The Lady proceeds to finiſh her labours, with the following remarks: "After independence was obtained by the ſword, and acknowledged by the neighbouring nations, a ſpirit of anarchy threatened the ſubverſion of our recently-acquired liberty; the interpoſition of Providence was viſible, at this alarming criſis, in cauſing theſe tumults finally to terminate in the eſtabliſhment of the Federal Conſtitution, which placed the privileges of the United States on a permanent foundation."

"Exalted from a feeble ſtate to opulence and independence, the federal Americans are now recognized, as a nation, throughout the globe. From a compariſon of their former with their preſent circumſtances, the mind is expanded to contemplate ſcenes of future grandeur, and is led to conclude, that the United States are advancing in knowledge and happineſs, while the wealth and power of more ancient governments is rapidly declining. The highly favoured Americans ought to raiſe their minds in grateful aſpirations to Heaven, that the fair proſpect may never be reverſed, by a ſpirit of anarchy prevailing among the people: but that GENUINE LIBERTY, *united with* ORDER and GOOD GOVERNMENT, may continue to diffuſe their bleſſings through the widely-extended Union."

We have obſerved, with ſome ſurpriſe and much ſatisfaction, that our fair Hiſtorian has diſdained to adopt thoſe corrupt innovations upon the Engliſh tongue, which are too prevalent in the literary compoſition of the minor authors of this nation: the ſtandard of the language has been already fixed, by the examples of the moſt claſſical and admired writers of our time and the preceding age: and it ſhould be recollected by modern writers here, that all foreigners of illumination and taſte will form a judgment upon their works, agreeably to the accuſtomed rules of diction; and may be diſpoſed to ſmile at any ſubverſion of orthography, that has no ſtronger claim to recommend it, than the love of novelty!—We have a gentleman among us, of more notoriety for the quantity, than the quality of his productions, who ſeems to have aſſumed the right (if ſuch barbariſm can be ſo denominated) to torment the parts of ſpeech, and ſhake the venerable Syntax to the foundation: he boldly inveſts the adjective *Epidemic*, who is but an *aid de camp* in the field of Literature, with all the honors and immunities appertaining to the ſubſtantive *Diſeaſe*, who has been heretofore conſidered, and univerſally acknowledged,

as

as a ſuperior officer: he uſes the ſame arbitrary diſpoſition with *Executive* and *Authority*, making the firſt unlimited in his agency, and ſuppreſſing the appearance of the other, with his allotted companion. He has wantonly cut, like a mad Egyptian Prieſt, the bowels out of the harmleſs participles *Brought*, *Thought*, &c. and filled up the vacuity, occaſioned by the loſs of *viſcera*, with an apoſtrophe; and then ſaucily tells the world, that they are more beautiful and ſtrong, by the loſs of *ſtamina*, members, and proportion. Any fondneſs that he might expreſs for the terms *Vanity* and *Folly*, would be admitted as excuſable, at leaſt by thoſe who know him: but why he ſhould treat other words ſo cruelly, is truly wonderful: but perhaps the gentleman has a little of the old leaven of oppreſſion in him, and as he cannot mangle or coeree any thing elſe, with impunity, in this free country; he is reſolved to wreak his appetite for vengeance, on the offspring of proſody: he is aſſuredly harmleſs, though his attempt is daring. Such a THING may cover his deformities amidſt the ignorance and credulity of his aſſociates, but he cannot hide himſelf from the ridicule of the world.

He has made Common Senſe antipodical, and conſiders Wit as an hereditary foe: he has broken the limbs of Rhetoric, and ſent Philoſophy limping through the world: when he was a child he liſped errors, and now he is a great boy, he reduces them to practice; he gained Academic honours by proving that Negation and Affirmation may be allied by Ingenuity—he has introduced the Ethics into vile company, and made Theology a *caricatura*—he has ſophiſticated the elements of Logic, and driven Metaphyſics into madneſs—the Grammar means to bring an action for damages, and the *Nomenclature* will petition Congreſs to bind him over to his good behaviour—he treads Adverbs under his feet, and bruiſes Nouns without pity—he has no more paſſion for Genders than *Hermaphroditus dormiens.*—

He makes the firſt Perſon in the Preſent Tenſe, the Generaliſſimo of all his arguments; which, it muſt be confeſſed, is putting *Tom Thumb* in the van of diſputation! He has made *Alma Mater* a punk, and deſtroyed her reputation, by the traces of his own illegitimacy! Some have denominated this inundation of nonſenſe, as an illiterate deluge; but we, more mild, characterize it as *Noah's flood!*

WASHINGTON's POLITICAL LEGACIES;—to which is annexed an Appendix, containing an account of his laſt illneſs, death, and the national tributes of reſpect paid to his memory, with a biographical outline of his life and character. Oct. 1 Vol. Price 9/. Boſton, JOHN RUSSELL and JOHN WEST.

WE ſeize the preſent occaſion to ſignify to the Public, that this aſſemblage of important matter is now offered for ſale. It is printed in a manner that would not diſhonour an European preſs; and this ſupremely valuable Volume is compiled with accuracy, circumſpection and taſte. It contains every letter and document appertaining to its good and great ſubject, as an author or orator, that it is neceſſary for the nation to know or ſtudy. [*To be concluded in our next number.*]

JUNIUS.

[Extracted from a London Magazine of Auguſt, 1799.]

A CONTROVERSY having ariſen concerning the real Author of the celebrated Letters formerly publiſhed under this ſignature, it is incumbent on the Conductors of a Literary Journal to take ſome notice of it. Our readers will recollect, that in our Magazine for December, 1797, p. 390, we declared our opinion that Hugh Boyd, neither was, nor could, from internal evidence, be the Author; we now inſert two letters; the latter the teſtimony of one who has had great means of information, and whoſe deciſion will have due weight with the public. They are both addreſſed to the Editor of The Morning Chronicle in the following terms:

"A FEW FACTS CONCERNING THE LATE HUGH BOYD, THE REPUTED AUTHOR OF JUNIUS.

"MR. EDITOR,

"The aſſertion of Mr. George Chalmers, in the poſtſcript to his recent publication, 'That the late Mr. Hugh Boyd was the real Author of the Letters of Junius,' having given riſe to ſome comments in The True Briton of the 16th of laſt month, and having ſince that period excited a good deal of attention in the literary circles, I think it due to the memory of Mr. Boyd, to give the public one or two leading facts with regard to the ſuppoſition of his having written the Letters of Junius, and to contradict ſome expreſſions highly injurious to his character, which Mr. Chalmers has thought himſelf juſtified to uſe, but which in truth and candour he will find himſelf bound to retract.

"One of Mr. Boyd's neareſt relations has long thought that he was the Author of the Letters of Junius, from the following poſitive facts:

"1ſt. Towards the latter end of the year 1768, Mr. Boyd, who at that period reſided in Great Marlborough-ſtreet, began to be extremely ſedulous in collecting political information of every kind, and being in habits of confidential intimacy with the late Mr. Laughlin Maclene, Secretary to Lord Shelburne, as well as with ſome other diſtinguiſhed political characters, whom it is unneceſſary to mention here, he was enabled to obtain very early and accurate intelligence of all Miniſterial proceedings.

"2d. Previous to the appearance of Junius's firſt letter on the 21ſt January, 1769, Mr. Boyd was at wonderful pains in accuſtoming himſelf to diſguiſe his hand-writing; and he ſucceeded ſo happily in doing ſo, that hardly any reſemblance could be traced between it and his common hand.

"3d. During the three years that Junius wrote for The Public Advertiſer, viz. from January, 1769, to January, 1772, Mr. Boyd ſent letters to that paper once, twice, and ſometimes thrice, a month, ſuperſcribed in his diſguiſed hand.

"4th. Theſe letters were written with the moſt ſcrupulous ſecreſy. Mrs. Boyd knew not the contents of them, though he often employed her to deliver them.

And

And there is positive evidence in contradiction to what was ſtated in The True Briton, that Mr. Woodfall never heard of any ſuch letters, nor even knew that Mr. Boyd had written for his paper before the year 1777, until he was requeſted, about three months ago, by Mr. Boyd's friends, to point out thoſe letters that had been written for The Public Advertiſer during the three years abovementioned. The writer in The True Briton has told the public with great confidence, 'that Mr. Boyd's contributions to The Public Advertiſer, during the time of Junius, are not to be held in compariſon with the productions of that admirable writer.' Where are thoſe contributions of Mr. Boyd's? Mr. Woodfall has honeſtly confeſſed he knows nothing of them; and I defy the writer in The True Briton, or any other man, to ſhew me any letters of Mr. Boyd's in The Public Advertiſer in the ſame years with thoſe of Junius, except one to Sir Fletcher Norton, which was ſent to Woodfall in Mrs. Boyd's handwriting, and which will not be found inferior in ſtrength and elegance of diction to the moſt finiſhed production of Junius's pen.

"Theſe *facts*, together with ſome very ſtrong concurring circumſtances, will be given in detail in the new edition of Mr. Boyd's Life, which will be publiſhed, along with two octavo volumes of his writings, early in the enſuing winter. In corroboration of the circumſtantial evidence which ſhall be adduced in proof of Mr. Boyd having written the Letters of Junius, a letter from Mr. Almon to the Editor of Mr. Boyd's Works, in ſupport of his aſſertion in the firſt volume of his Biographical and Political Anecdotes, 'that Mr. Boyd was actually the Author of Junius,' will be publiſhed in Mr. Boyd's Life, and it contains the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proofs of the fact aſſerted.

"From the talents and diligence of Mr. Chalmers much additional information may be expected when he ſhall preſent the public with the documents which he ſays he has collected. But I lament that a man of his ſagacity ſhould have been betrayed by political prejudice, or controverſial rancour, into a violation of that decorum, the breach of which he was at the ſame moment condemning in his opponent, by endeavouring to blacken the fair fame of departed genius, and to wound the generous feelings of an honourable family. 'Junius,' ſays he (meaning Mr. Boyd,) was an United Iriſhman by birth, by habit, and by practice.' If he grounds this aſſertion on the writings of Junius, it is too abſurd to merit a reply. Every one knows that Junius, although highly blameable for the violence and aſperity of his language towards a great perſonage, was nevertheleſs, both in principle and practice, a zealous friend to the Britiſh Conſtitution, and an *avowed* enemy to a Republican form of government. If the aſſertion be grounded on the political writings of Mr. Boyd, publiſhed in Ireland, which Mr. Chalmers has lately peruſed, it is ſtill more erroneous; inaſmuch as there is not a ſingle expreſſion in *theſe* writings, which even the moſt ingenious calumny can poſſibly torture into ſedition, far leſs into any

any meaning whatever, that will afford Mr. Chalmers the faintest colour of justice in the inference he has drawn. To say nothing of the forced reasoning that would trace the origin of the recent conspiracy of *United Irishmen* as far back as the year 1776, it must be perfectly evident to every man of common sense, who may have read Mr. Boyd's political writings, that this assertion of Mr. Chalmers is unfounded in fact, unjustifiable in argument, and altogether uncalled for in the investigation in which he was engaged. Mr. Hugh Boyd was in truth throughout his whole life, by principle, by habit, and by practice, an *Aristocratical Whig;* and with regard to the French Revolution, he was so early as 1789 decidedly of Mr. Burke's opinions, which, until the day of his death, he uniformly and ardently continued to support.

"It remains to say a few words relative to another expression in Mr. Chalmers's Book: 'Hugh Mac Aulay,' says he, 'who *assumed* the name of Boyd,' &c. Now as Mr. Chalmers was perfectly well acquainted with the cause of Mr. Boyd's changing his name, he ought to have explained it, or at least not to have used a phrase which admitted of the following interpretation: 'Mac Aulay,' says the writer in The True Briton, 'might have changed his name to Boyd; but would a man, with the subtlety and caution of Junius, have subjected his character to the *disgrace* of an *alias?*' The writer of this observation himself will think it absurd, when he is informed that Hugh Mac Aulay changed his name to Boyd in strict conformity to the will of his maternal grandfather, Hugh Boyd, Esq. of Bally Castle, in the county of Antrim, who bequeathed to his grandson, Hugh Mac Aulay, part of the estate of Bally Castle, on condition of changing his name from Mac Aulay to Boyd. Transactions of this nature are so common, that it were a waste of time to say any thing farther on the subject, and so *pleasant*, that I am sure the writer in The True Briton is a man of too much *taste* to throw any odium upon them!!

"Thus much I have thought it my duty to state in this place. When the new edition of Mr. Boyd's Life shall be published next winter, the public will be furnished with the most ample means of judging whether he was in reality the celebrated Junius.

"THE EDITOR OF MR. BOYD'S WORKS.

"*Paddington, Aug.* 4, 1799."

"MR. EDITOR,

"I YESTERDAY heard that an article had appeared in your paper of Tuesday, signed *The Editor of Mr. Boyd's Works*, and entitled, 'A few Facts concerning the late Hugh Boyd, the *reputed* Author of Junius.' I immediately sent for the paper and read it. I mean not to interfere in the smallest degree with the controversy between the Editor of Mr. Boyd's Works and Mr. Chalmers; but I come forward in the cause of truth, and with a view to rescue the public from the gross error respecting the Author of Junius, into which Mr. Almon first, and the Editor of Mr. Boyd's Works and Mr. Chalmers, have equally

equally fallen, when they took upon them to aſſert, and next to attempt to prove, that the late Mr. Hugh Boyd was the writer of the popular political letters, which appeared in The Public Advertiſer between the commencement of the year 1769 and a part of the year 1772, under the ſignature of Junius.

" That Gentleman, whoever he was, wrote in The Public Advertiſer under the three diſtinct ſignatures, which conſtitute one celebrated Roman name, Lucius Junius Brutus, excluſive of, what he himſelf terms, ' the auxiliary part of his Correſpondence,' the letters ſigned Philo Junius. I believe I may ſafely aſſert, that every one of his letters was ſhewn to me in manuſcript by my brother previous to publication, and no one of them ever bore the appearance of being written in a diſguiſed hand.

" During the period that Junius was in the habit of correſponding with The Public Advertiſer, the late Mr. Hugh Boyd was in that habit likewiſe, but not as a ſtudiouſly concealed writer; and, however Mr. Boyd might diſguiſe his hand-writing (in which by the bye, he could not eaſily deceive the acute diſcernment of a newſpaper printer's eye, although he might poſſibly eſcape the detection of others,) it muſt be admitted on all hands, that he could not diſguiſe his ſtyle, and leaſt of all in that moſt extraordinary way of writing, infinitely above his own reach of literary talent. The writer in The True Briton was therefore amply juſtified in ſaying, ' that Mr. Boyd's contributions to The Public Advertiſer, in the ſame years with thoſe of Junius, are not to be held in compariſon with the productions of that admirable writer.' Mr. Boyd was a reſpectable man, and undoubtedly a valuable correſpondent to a certain extent to any newſpaper; but he did not poſſeſs any thing like an equal degree of that taſte in compoſition, and that command of words, which ſo evidently diſtinguiſh the letters ſigned Junius. The felicity of expreſſion and beauty of ſtyle in thoſe letters are ſo captivating, that a judicious reader who would peruſe them now (when the ſubject of each is no longer impulſive on the paſſions, but capable of calm conſideration, as a matter of hiſtorical controverſy,) will often find a weak argument rendered too dazzling and ſplendid for immediate detection, by the glare of brilliant phraſeology.

" The Editor of Mr. Boyd's Works aſks—' Where are thoſe contributions of Mr. Boyd's that are to prove that they were not to be held in compariſon with the productions of that admirable writer (Junius?) Mr. Woodfall has honeſtly confeſſed, he knows nothing of them.' Has he—When? I was preſent at the converſation, when the Editor of Mr. Boyd's Works called on my brother, and queſtioned him on the ſubject at his houſe at Chelſea, and I do not recollect any ſuch confeſſion. On the contrary, I well remember that the Gentleman had the fulleſt aſſurances from my brother, that Mr. Boyd was not the writer of the letters ſigned Junius; and my brother alſo told him that Mr. Boyd was his frequent correſpondent.

[*To be continued.*

AN AUTHENTIC FRAGMENT.

Written in Scotland. By ANTHONY PASQUIN.

——DURING a very heavy fall of ſnow, in the winter of 1784, we rode on horſeback from Berwick to Kelſo, upon the banks of the Tweed; regardleſs of the remonſtrances of many, who inſiſted that the roads were impaſſable to the weſt---and, in truth, it was an act of hardihood and folly, as the congealed flakes were drifted by the blaſt, and beat violently againſt our eyes and teeth ---at every ſtep, the jaded animals were more than knee deep, and may be rather ſaid to have plunged onward than otherwiſe. When we arrived, with much difficulty, at a lonely alehouſe, near Tweezle, on the river Till; we found an inhabitant of Kelſo, who had been detained in this thatched hotel, two days, by the inclement ſeaſon: he ſat in a contracted ſtate, inclining over the embers on the hearth, like the perſonification of the ague. When he recognized us, his features reſumed their wonted firmneſs, and gathering intrepidity from example, he reſolved to accompany us; although the roads and ditches were ſo filled with ſnow, that the vaſt face of the country ſeemed an unbroken, white expanſe. On our arrival in the middle of a heath, which we did not accompliſh until the duſky and inſidious approaches of night; we faintly diſcovered a female form, wading and floundering irregularly towards us, in the trackleſs ſnow: her attire was ſo looſe, and involved ſo much of the ſimplicity of a villager, that ſhe appeared as if habited merely to paſs from one houſe to another—Viewing her through the miſty atmoſphere, we heſitated to pronounce her human; the contour of her body was ſo ſoftened by the intermediate vapours, that ſhe ſeemed ærial. On our coming nearer, we aſcertained her, with extreme aſtoniſhment, to be the wife of our companion: ſhe had been wandering, in a ſpirit of deſperation, thirteen miles from her home and her infant, in that bleak day, to find the remains of her beloved *Willy*; believing him, from his unuſual and alarming abſence, to have periſhed in the hard weather. Upon the inſtantaneous aſſurance, that ſhe beheld her huſband once more, ſhe iſſued a loud and piercing ſhriek, aud ſunk motionleſs in the ſnow—when we had chaffed her temples, and imperfectly recovered her; ſhe claſped her hands, in all the fervour of exceeding piety, and raiſing her eyes to heaven, bleſſed God for her deliverance from trouble; and a more genuine thankſgiving never aſcended the empyrean!---At the concluſion of her prayer, we placed the ſhivering, amiable woman on the ableſt horſe, and conveyed her to Coldſtream, overpowered by the ſenſations of an exceſſive joy, ſucceeding the conflicts of ſevere duty and the moſt agonizing woe. What an inſtance of conjugal tenderneſs!---Could Cornelia or Portia have done more?

For

For the Columbian Phenix.

THE GENTLEMAN AT LARGE. No. I.

To hold the mirror up to nature. *Shakeſpere's Hamlet.*

IT has ever been the profeſſed object of my predeceſſors to delineate human nature, and to deſcribe its various appearances under the control of different ſituations; and I do not ſpeak without authority when I ſay, that there is no form in which inſtruction is ſo well calculated to impreſs itſelf, as that, adopted by the ſeveral periodical writers of eminence in Great-Britain.

The axioms of morality, and the moſt evident propoſitions of reaſon, when they are laid down in a ſtyle of dogma, and appear in an abſtract form, will oftentimes be rejected as viſionary ſpeculations, or, at beſt, but as the opinions of the learned. But when the moral is ſo artfully protected by allegory and ſo ſecured by alluſion as to appear the reſult of the reader's deduction, it gains its proper aſcendency over the heart, and procures a ready admiſſion to the underſtanding. This way of inſinuating inſtruction is certainly the moſt obvious, becauſe the mind is, as it were, faſcinated into conviction; but in the former caſe it perceives the gradual approaches of the aſſailant, and, of courſe, fortifies itſelf againſt his attacks.

There is a falſe pride incident to mankind, to which they owe that ignorance of themſelves, which is a fruitful ſource of their unhappineſs. The moſt candid and ingenuous are bold to acknowledge their errors, and our prejudices will hardly allow us to part with a ſentiment, which long indulgence has made dear to our imaginations. When we perceive any one endeavoring to prove the fallacy of our opinions or the abſurdity of our conduct, we are apt to regard him as a kind of enemy, who has challenged us to an intellectual combat, or as a more malignant being, who wiſhes to make us diſſatisfied with ourſelves.

This ſuſpicion awakens all our reſentment, and we prepare ourſelves for obviating thoſe arguments, which we think are furniſhed for our diminution. Thus are we prevented, by a ridiculous pride, and by a criminal obſtinacy, from knowing ourſelves, a kind of knowledge the moſt valuable. The only way, then, to addreſs the underſtanding, is through the medium of the paſſions and the imagination. Theſe are qualities of that artleſs and playful nature, that they are eaſy of acceſs, and eaſy of captivity; and when we have once gained them over to our ſide, we find but little difficulty in our way to the underſtanding.

This indirect mode of coming at the reaſon, has ever been ſucceſsful, when attempted by writers of genius and ability.—M'Kenzie, more particularly, has, in two inſtances, in the ſimple narratives of La Roche and Father Nicholas, done more for the cauſe of religion and virtue, than if he had written a folio of ſpeculative morality. In theſe little ſtories, the principles which they illuſtrate carry along with them the moſt impreſſive recommendation.

tion. In La Roche we ſee an exemplification of that ſublime happineſs which reſults from a faith in the Chriſtian religion; with one eye we view the cauſe and the effect, and the dependency of the latter upon the former is proved by ſuch a natural ſeries of incidents, that we ſeem almoſt to realize the argument. In Father Nicholas the ſame obſervations are applicable. The fatal conſequences of play are ſo ably proved, not by a chain of abſtracted reaſoning, but by practical demonſtration, deduced from the life of a gameſter, that we are unable to reſiſt the conviction which accompanies it. The unaffected ſtyle and intereſting manner in which theſe fictions are related, together with the importance of the principles which they involve, inſenſibly lead the reader to purſue them to their cataſtrophe. When we have finiſhed them, we have not a doubt upon our minds. We forget that their author has been labouring for our good, and, by thinking leſs of the author, we dwell more upon his inſtruction.

Writing of this character requires a knowledge of the human heart, and an extenſive acquaintance with life and manners. It requires that general, and, I might almoſt ſay, unreſtricted obſervation, which can only be made by a man of leiſure, whoſe diſengagements from profeſſional duty or commercial avocations, enable him to look around the world, and to inveſtigate the various motives which actuate it. He muſt be ſomething more than a *mere* merchant; for contracted indeed muſt be that knowledge which is circumſcribed by a compting-room. He muſt have read ſomething elſe beſides law books; otherwiſe he will be too technically and ſeverely learned for that liberal and polite ſcience, which is too unlimited and too arbitrary ever to be thoroughly maſtered. He muſt not be a *mere* politician; for politics are a ſubordinate ſyſtem of canons, framed by man for the regulation of ſociety, whereas the laws of human nature are a paramount ſyſtem, fabricated by God himſelf, and are coeval with his creation.

Who is there, then, ſo fit to move in this important ſphere as a Gentleman at large? by which I do not mean a ſtreet loiterer, a tavern hunter, or a diſſipated rake; in which opprobrious ſenſes the term is oftentimes uſed. He muſt be a leiſurely gentleman, but his leiſure ought to be of that dignified deſcription which never condeſcends to idleneſs; and, if the two characters are reconcilable, I would add, that he ſhould be a man of buſineſs, yet not that drudge or ſlave to his occupation as to preclude himſelf from the elegant purſuits of literature.

For the furtherance of his knowledge, he muſt ſometimes court the moſt ungrateful ſcenes, and contemplate the lower conditions of humanity. He muſt not only liſten to the profound leſſons of the philoſopher, but he muſt alſo lend an ear to the ſenſeleſs prattle of the coxcomb. The priſon and the hoſpital, as well as the drawing room and the feſtival hall, demand his attention.

By this time, I am afraid that my readers ſuſpect me of vanity, for having entered upon an undertaking, which, agreeable to my own confeſſion, requires ability of a very

a very ſuperior kind. To this charge I am ready to plead guilty, reſerving to myſelf the privilege of making a few remarks, by way of qualifying that plea. There is, indeed, no liberal profeſſion, to become excellent in which, the greateſt talents are not neceſſary. Law, phyſic, and divinity, call for the ſublimeſt energies of genius, and even the mechanical arts are beyond the comprehenſion of an ordinary mind; yet it is not an uncommon thing to ſee men, eſteemed for their modeſty, and beloved for their diffidence, engage in theſe arduous ſtudies. To aim at excellence is by no means illaudable, and there is nothing criminal in hoping for perfection; but this excellence and this perfection are only attainable by acquirements, ſmall and progreſſive. The firſt efforts are, commonly, feeble, but they increaſe in ſtrength and beauty in proportion as they are aided by time and experience.

The GENTLEMAN AT LARGE, therefore, hopes that the public will recognize the juſtneſs of his claim upon their candour. This is his firſt eſſay. They have a right to look for improvement. But they will pleaſe to conſider that, with him, it is, now, the vernal ſeaſon of authorſhip, and that it depends, in ſome meaſure, upon them, whether the autumn ſhall be ſterile or productive.

ON THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE DUTCH.

[From the manuſcript Notes of a German.]

(CONCLUDED.)

AS a relaxation, they further indulge a fondneſs or attachment to concerns which have no connexion with their buſineſs, but ſerve merely as amuſement. Almoſt every affluent Dutchman has ſome ſuch additional employment. One gratifies his taſte by forming a collection of famous and valuable paintings (which coſts him from 1000 to 8000 florins) engravings, or even news-papers; another in gardening, hot-beds, flowers; a third, in handſome furniture; a fourth, in horſes famous for quick trotting (hard drawers) and ſuperb carriages of various ſhapes and kinds; a fifth, finally, in a library of modern as well as ancient literature, the ſtudy of which he purſues with delight to his old age, or in a cabinet of natural hiſtory or medals. At preſent indeed politics are the univerſally amuſement.

This neceſſity of relieving themſelves from the dull uniform reſtraint of buſineſs principally by ſetting their minds at eaſe, has produced that love of repoſe, which, paſſing from the higher claſſes, the merchants, to the other inhabitants, has ſpread itſelf over all orders, and contributed highly to blunt the faculties. The proverb* "too much of one thing is good for nothing," is here ſomewhat ſtrongly illuſtrated in practice: but on the other hand it has produced ſolidity and perſeverance

* Gut Ding will weile haben.

ſeverance in works of art, and profundity in works of learning; qualities which would be more valuable in the Hollander, if they did not appear too often in his amuſements, and degenerate into frivolity.

But no one will accuſe the Dutch of lazineſs, who has obſerved only during one week, more particularly in good times, the crowding and driving in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, the univerſal diligence and induſtry in the counting-houſes, ware-houſes, harbours, and on the docks. During the greater part of the day, from eight in the morning till ſeven in the evening, no one is unemployed, and there is nothing which ſtrangers, who viſit Amſterdam without buſineſs, "idle and inquiſitive travellers," more complain of, than the want of perſons to converſe with. It is true, Dutch induſtry bears a different ſtamp from that of the ſouthern nations; but is it right to deny to a people the poſſeſſion of a quality, and impute to them the contrary, becauſe it appears among them in a form differing from ours?

The Hague, like moſt ſeats of government, is leaſt qualified to give travellers correct notions concerning the induſtry, and, above all, the character of the nation: eſpecially ſince the court has left it, by whom the greater part of the inhabitants were ſupported. But the judicious traveller will form his judgment, not from the town which is accidentally the ſeat of government, but from the *real* metropolis of the country, the place where, from the maſs of its population, the principal branches of national induſtry are brought beneath his immediate notice.*

From this predilection for quiet, neceſſarily ariſes an inclination to continue their old cuſtoms, and adhere to their courſe of opinions. Hence, innovation in every department, in literature, and in ſcience, in matters of buſineſs, and in political opinions concerning government, there make but a ſlow and late progreſs.

In no reſpect is this more apparent than in the religious opinions of the Dutch, who are now preciſely at the point from which they ſet out two centuries ago, and where they were fixed by the ſynod of Dort. All their religious opinions are orthodox in the higheſt degree; all dogmas derived from the ſyſtems of the reformers, the Lutherans, Mennonites, and Remonſtrants, are held in abhorrence, under the epithet of *Duitſch vergif* (German poiſon), becauſe it is known they had moſtly proceeded from German divines. The Lutherans at Amſterdam carried their zeal for immutable uniformity of doctrine ſo far, that, differing about the exiſtence of the devil, they ſeparated into two churches, and even this ſchiſm awakened the ſpirit of party

* Hence the very extravagant picture which *Riem* has drawn in his Travels through Holland of the lazineſs of the higher orders. The rich Hollander is at his *Buiten plaatſen* from eight in the morning (when he riſes, in the middle of ſummer, and never goes to bed before twelve or one) in the open air, and ſpends his time in walking, riding, or buſying himſelf either in fiſhing, hunting, or enſnaring birds in the graſs. Even in Holland it is not the cuſtom for the rich to ſit.—Pauci dormientes rete trahunt. D. EINS.

ty in a powerful degree. The Dutch Catholics are more bigoted than in ſome Catholic countries. A negligent obſervation of lent would endanger the reputation of a young Catholic, juſt eſtabliſhed in buſineſs, with thoſe of his own ſect; and, as their riches give them power, might impede his proſperity. So that, from the time of their *Vondels* and *Vatts*, polite literature has ſcarcely made any progreſs among them; theſe in poetry, *Grotius* in juriſprudence, and the dry annaliſt *Wagenar* in hiſtory, are ſtill their great patterns. It is already known in what manner they have tranſlated the Greek and Roman claſſics, and which, in ſpite of the examples of *Hemſterhuis*, *Rhunkens*, and *Wyttenbachs*, conſiſt rather of a laborious attempt to acquire certain words, forms of expreſſion, and ſentences, than deeply to enter into the ſenſe and ſpirit of the ancients, and accurately compreſs them together into one whole.

It was not ſo much a conviction of the want of national conſtitution, or of the truth of their political opinions, which, ſince the year 1789, has procured the French ſo many friends and partizans in Holland; as the hope by the aſſiſtance of that nation to cruſh the deteſted Orange party: And it was not in the leaſt conſidered, that with that was neceſſarily connected the entire change of the political union, and the introduction of a new order of things, which might break the chains of their former habits. The Dutch had too high an opinion of the power and conſequence of the republic, to reflect that the great republic, after its conqueſt, would retain a direct or indirect authority over its protected ſiſter. During the conteſt of parties in France, the partiality of the Dutch patriots was unchanged, and their applauſe followed the victorious party, whoever they were. When it became neceſſary, after the abolition of the Stadtholder's authority, to new-model the conſtitution, then the attachment to this ſyſtem ſhewed itſelf on all ſides.

There are cuſtoms and forms which buſineſs indeed generally promotes, leſs attachment to which and more boldneſs of ſpeculation may be the cauſe why in Holland there are more examples of Engliſh, Germans, and French, who have ſettled there, gaining rapid fortunes, than of the native Hollanders. The rich Dutchman has inherited the greateſt part of his fortune, and on that account ſtrives with leſs difficulty to increaſe his patrimony, by the accuſtomed means.

With this inclination to preſerve favourite cuſtoms, is connected a certain obſtinacy and ſtubbornneſs, which are found as well in individuals, and even in children, as in the national character. There are no people who adhere more pertinaciouſly to their firſt impreſſions of diſlike or eſteem than the Hollanders. Their cold blood runs too ſlowly to permit thoſe haſty changes of ſentiment, and that rapid adoption of every external impreſſion which paſſes over them, for which more ſouthern nations are indebted to their warm imaginations, their more ſuſceptible and irritable ſenſes, and to the inconſtancy of their tempers. Even this cold-

neſs

neſs of temperament promotes conſtancy, by preventing thoſe paſſionate exceſſes of ſenſibility, which are ſo injurious to the amiable. What other nations effect by the ſtrength of their paſſions and their conſtitutional energy, the Dutch are able to attain by the permanence of their feelings. And no other people, ſcarcely, could have maintained with ſuch undaunted firmneſs their long ſtruggle againſt their Spaniſh oppreſſors.

In the mean while, the Dutch are in this reſpect like all other perſons of limited knowledge, and without principles; that what they fancy they know, what they have received upon credit as juſt and true, and through cuſtom and habit have maintained; or what flatters their habitual and powerful feelings, are ſo deeply rooted in them, that the moſt cogent arguments cannot convince them to the contrary. On the other hand, on ſubjects which they do not profeſs to underſtand, where they are not governed by habit, cuſtom, or faſhion, and particularly where it reſpects propriety in their ordinary conduct; they eaſily and contentedly ſuffer themſelves to be directed by others. With this limitation, what *Riem*, p. 373, ſays of the Dutch, may be perfectly true, that of all people they are the moſt tractable: But when it is conſidered, how few things there are which men do not believe they underſtand, and how few caſes can occur in this country, over which cuſtom and habit have not complete authority; this general docility ſinks almoſt to nothing. Alſo in matters of ſentiment, where the female ſex is ſo much ſuperior to ours, a Dutchman will more readily be guided by his wife; and ſlanderers even aſſert of many a one, that in the totally new character of a repreſentative he has become only her echo.

The Hollander's ſenſe of freedom, at leaſt at preſent, is for the moſt part the love of eaſe. The true love of liberty, which once prevailed in Greece and Rome, is no where in modern Europe in ſo great a perfection as in England: But the Engliſhman, when he conſiders liberty to conſiſt in the freedom of his native country from foreign power, and the ſecurity of individuals againſt the government, patiently ſubmits to the inconveniences which flow from it, becauſe the removal of them would occaſion more eſſential injury; and he ſhuns no ſacrifice to maintain this liberty in its original purity. On the other hand, the Dutchman by this word means only a perfect exemption from every thing that might interfere with his ordinary habits, that might compel him to make any ſacrifice, or ſubmit to any reſtraint, or that might hinder the gratification of his avarice. "Our governors," ſay they, "muſt be mild and gentle;" but by this they mean only, that their rulers muſt be impotent and aſleep. When their ancient, inveterate and ſtubborn hatred againſt the houſe of Orange had broken out afreſh, they never laboured to reform their ſtrange federal conſtitution, according to which there were in this little republic nearly as many ſtates which were independent, and whoſe juriſdiction was confined to a ſingle town, as in

in Germany; becauſe ſuch a reform would have changed all their ancient cuſtoms. But the violent hatred borne by the majority of the inhabitants of the ſea provinces againſt the Stadtholderians, from the graification of which the one party were withheld by no ſcruples, and which the other party were little ſolicitous to appeaſe, might unite with the circumſtances of the times, in promoting the introduction of French principles among the patriots. And yet ſo little were they prepared for the final accompliſhment of their wiſhes, by forming a moderate plan of reform in their government, that two years were neceſſary to form a conſtitution, which ſoon became the deriſion of all parties. An invitation to tranſmit ſchemes of reform in the conſtitution both of the towns and provinces, occaſioned a ſatirical writer to compare the ſituation of the country with that of a man, who pulled down his houſe, and then projected a plan of a new one among the ruins; whence it could not but follow, that being heated by the labour of demoliſhing, he might then cool himſelf by ſtanding ſtill in the open air.

CURIOUS ANECDOTE OF THE VENETIAN STAGE:

A GOOD HINT FOR THE REFORMATION OF OUR OWN.

THE Venetian Stage had long been in poſſeſſion of Goldoni, a dramatic poet, who, by introducing buſtle and ſhow into his pieces, and writing principally to the level of the Gondoliers, arrived to the firſt degree of popularity in Venice. He had a rival in Pietro Chiari, whom the beſt critics even thought worſe than Goldoni; but ſuch an epidemic frenzy ſeized the Venetians in favour of theſe two writers, that it quickly ſpread itſelf to almoſt all parts of Italy, to the great detriment of better authors, and the derangement of the public taſte.

It is difficult to tell how long this *dramatic mania* would have continued, but for the following circumſtance:

Carlo Gozzi, a younger broth- of a noble family, was the firſt that attacked Goldoni and Chiari, and many others ſoon followed. The two bards, finding themſelves thus attacked, thought proper to ſuſpend their mutual animoſity, and join to oppoſe their adverſaries. Chiari was a great *proſe ſcribbler*, as well as a *comedy-monger*, ſo that a briſk paper war was quickly commenced, which grew hotter and hotter by rapid degrees.

It happened one day that Carlo Gozzi met with Goldoni in a bookſeller's ſhop. They exchanged ſharp words, and in the heat of the altercation Goldoni told Gozzi, "that though it was an eaſy taſk to find fault with a play, it was very difficult to write one." Gozzi acknowledged, "that to find fault with a play was really very eaſy, but that it was ſtill eaſier to write ſuch plays as would pleaſe ſo thoughtleſs a nation as the Venetians;" adding,

ing, with a tone of contempt, "that he had a good mind to make all Venice run to see *the Tale of the Three Oranges* formed into a comedy." Goldoni, with ſome of his partizans then in the ſhop, challenged Gozzi to do it, if he could; and the critic, thus piqued, engaged to produce ſuch a comedy within a few weeks.

Who could have ever thought that to this trifling and caſual diſpute, Italy ſhould owe the greateſt dramatic writer that it ever had? Gozzi quickly wrote a comedy in five acts, entitled, *I Tre Aranci*; or, *The Three Oranges*; formed out of an old woman's ſtory, with which the Venetian children are much entertained by their nurſes. The comedy was acted, and the three beautiful Princeſſes, born of the three enchanted Oranges, made all Venice crowd to the theatre of St. Angelo.

It may be eaſily imagined, that Goldoni and Chiari were not ſpared in the *Tre Aranci*. Gozzi found means to introduce in it a good many of their theatrical abſurdities, and expoſed them to public deriſion.

The Venetian audiences, like the reſt of the world, do not much reliſh the labour of finding out the truth; but once point it out to them, and they will inſtantly ſeize it. This was remarkable on the firſt night that the comedy of The Three Oranges was acted. The fickle Venetians, forgetting inſtantly the loud acclamations with which they had received the greateſt part of Goldoni's and Chiari's plays, now laughed out moſt obſtreperouſly at them both, and applauded The Three Oranges in a moſt frantic manner.

This good ſucceſs encouraged Gozzi to write more, and his plays changed in a little time ſo entirely the taſte of the Venetian audiences, that in about two ſeaſons Goldoni was entirely ſtripped of his theatrical honours, and poor Chiari totally annihilated. Goldoni quitted Italy, and went to France, confiding much in Voltaire's intereſt and recommendations, which procured him the place of Italian maſter to one of the Princeſſes at Verſailles; and Chiari retired to a country houſe in the neighborhood of Breſcia.

Thoſe who are any way critically acquainted with the knowledge of the Engliſh ſtage, cannot forbear drawing a compariſon, between its ſtate at preſent, and that of the Venetian, under the control of Goldoni and Chiari. If the Venetians, forty years ago, were intoxicated with *ſpectacle*, *improbable fable*, and *low buffoonery*; have we not our *ſpectres* and *hobgoblins*, our *manual wit*, *miſerable puns*, and *improbable fables*; with characters more drawn from the narrow or ideal views of the writers, than from truth or general nature? Nay, what is ſtill worſe, are we not in danger of having our ſtage inundated with a new ſpecies of *German morality*; where either the ranks of ſubordination are conſtantly attempted to be invaded, or proſtitution ſuffered to triumph over the weakneſs of humanity?

It is no excuſe to the writers, the manufacturers, or tranſlators of ſuch pieces, to ſay, that they *work* to pleaſe their *cuſtomers*; and if the latter are gratified with their performances, their object is attained; writers inſpired with a true deſire of fame, ſhould not

ſeek their emoluments in the ignorance or paſſions of the public. It is ſtill leſs an excuſe to thoſe of ſuperiour talents, to repoſe in indolence under the exhibition of ſuch pieces; they ſhould conſider themſelves as guardians of the public taſte, and as ſuch it is their duty to draw off the public mind to more rational enjoyments. This is not ſo difficult a taſk too, as is generally imagined; for though the great maſs of Engliſh audiences ſometimes cannot, and often will not, "be at the trouble of thinking for themſelves," let a writer, properly qualified, *think for them;* and they will, like the Venetians, ſoon join in the laugh againſt their former follies and intoxications.

Thoſe converſant with the ſtate of the ſtage in the reign of Charles the Second, muſt look back with horror and contempt at moſt of the miſerable productions of that age; where *novelty* was the great idol of the day, and where even wit and genius ſometimes ſtooped to aſſiſt her in her fantaſtical and ridiculous drapery: yet no ſooner did "The Rehearſal" appear, wherein the abſurdities of thoſe pieces were pointed out and properly ridiculed, than ſucceſſive audiences made atonements for their paſt miſtakes, and baniſhed the greater part of them from the ſtage forever.

"Thus ſhame regained the poſt that ſenſe betray'd,
"And virtue call'd oblivion to her aid."

Our own times produce us ſimilar circumſtances: Garrick's fine natural acting and tranſcendent powers ſoon put to flight the hoſt of pantomime mongers, wire dancers, &c. who infeſted at that period the two winter theatres. O'Hara's "Midas" had the ſame effect upon the operas which were about to be introduced into Dublin about forty years ago, to the excluſion almoſt of all dramatic performances: whilſt Goldſmith's "Good-natured Man," and Foote's "Piety in Pattens" put a ſtop to a ſpecies of ſentimental comedy, which, inſtead of the *ſpeculum vitæ*, was nearly converting the theatre into an half-informed academy for moral philoſophy.

We truſt this hint will be ſufficient for men of real genius. Some we know to be well qualified, by their former productions, for ſuch a taſk; and many more no doubt, though unknown to the drama, who would find proper employment for their talents in this department. The object would be far above the bare emolument of ſuch a ſervice; it would be recovering to the ſtage its priſtine character—"*Delectando pariterque monendo*"—and giving the rule and the example to ſucceſſive authors to write up to this ſtandard. In ſhort, all would be benefited by ſuch a reformation: the managers would have fuller audiences; as, in addition to the *fools*, the *triflers*, and *indifferents*, they would have the reſort and countenance of men of ſenſe, taſte, and education. The actors would enjoy more of the benefits of their profeſſion, by having their talents properly exerted. The audiences would find in the cup of entertainment the ſweets of improvement, whilſt the authors would gather with their emoluments the higher rewards of a virtuous reputation.

An ORATION *on the Sublime Virtues of General* GEORGE WASHINGTON, *pronounced at the Old South Meeting-House in* BOSTON, *before His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council, and the Two Branches of the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts, at their Requeſt, on Saturday, the 8th of February,* 1800.

By FISHER AMES.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind ſhould be drawn to their benefactors. A number of theſe have ſucceſſively ariſen, who were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the elevation of their virtues, than the luſtre of their talents. Of thoſe however who were born, and who acted through life, as if they were born, not for themſelves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals of time and ſpace that divide them. In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or ſix light-houſes on as many thouſand miles of coaſt: they gleam upon the ſurrounding darkneſs, with an inextinguiſhable ſplendor, like ſtars ſeen through a miſt; but they are ſeen like ſtars, to cheer, to guide, and to ſave. WASHINGTON is now added to that ſmall number. Already he attracts curioſity, like a newly diſcovered ſtar, whoſe benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's fartheſt bounds. Already his name is hung up by hiſtory as conſpicuouſly, as if it ſparkled in one of the conſtellations of the ſky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confeſs the common debt of mankind as well as our own; and to pronounce for poſterity, now dumb, that elogium, which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I conſider myſelf not merely in the midſt of the citizens of this town, or even of the State. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vaſt and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raiſe my voice, and ſpeak to mankind in a ſtrain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my ſubject. But how ſhall I expreſs emotions, that are condemned to be mute, becauſe they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witneſs, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief, that ſaddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow laboured for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the conſolation of other men's tears. Gracious Heaven! what conſolation! each face was convulſed with ſorrow for the paſt; every heart ſhivered with deſpair for the future. The man, who and who alone, united all hearts, was dead; dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greateſt, and when the aſpect of the imminent public dangers ſeemed more than ever to render his aid indiſpenſable, and his loſs irreparable: irreparable; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

A grief

A grief ſo thoughtful, ſo profound, ſo mingled with tenderneſs and admiration, ſo interwoven with our national ſelf-love, ſo often revived by being diffuſed, is not to be expreſſed. You have aſſigned me a taſk that is impoſſible.

O if I could perform it, if I could illuſtrate his principles in my diſcourſe as he diſplayed them in his life, if I could paint his virtues as he practiſed them, if I could convert the fervid enthuſiaſm of my heart into the talent to tranſmit his fame, as it ought to paſs to poſterity; I ſhould be the ſucceſsful organ of your will, the miniſter of his virtues, and may I dare to ſay, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. Theſe are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them. For it is perhaps almoſt as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praiſe great actions, as to perform them. A laviſh and undiſtinguiſhing elogium is not praiſe; and to diſcriminate ſuch excellent qualities as were characteriſtic and peculiar to him, would be to raiſe a name, as he raiſed it, above envy, above parallel, perhaps, for that very reaſon, above emulation.

Such a portraying of character however, muſt be addreſſed to the underſtanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would ſeem to be rather an analyſis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and eſteem, than kindle enthuſiaſm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and, like a picture, flat as the canvas; like a ſtatue, cold as the marble on which he is repreſented; cold, alas, as his corpſe in the ground. Ah, how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the ſoul once glowing with patriotic fires! He is gone! the tomb hides all, that the world could ſcarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country; and his example; *that* let us endeavour by delineating to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, wiſdom in her treaſury.

Peace then to your ſorrows. I have done with them. Deepas your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I deſire leſs to give utterance to the feelings of this age, than to the judgment of the next. Let us faithfully repreſent the illuſtrious dead, as hiſtory will paint, as poſterity will behold him.

With whatever fidelity I might execute this taſk, I know that ſome would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our WASHINGTON repreſented of a giant's ſize, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reaſon, would not be ſatisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unleſs, in the exhibition, it ſhould be ſo diſtorted into prodigy, as to be both incredible and uſeleſs. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even WASHINGTON ſhould think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the ſearch for mean and ſelfiſh motives, that could incite and ſuſtain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not theſe ſuggeſtions ſound in your ears like a profanation of

virtue?

virtue? and, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a ſtrict ſcrutiny: the world, in paſſing the judgment that is never to be reverſed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of WASHINGTON. Let it be denied: for its juſtice will confer glory.

Such a life as WASHINGTON's cannot derive honor from the circumſtances of birth and education, though it throws back a luſtre upon both. With an inquiſitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by paſſions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparalleled in youth. Perhaps no young man had ſo early laid up a life's ſtock of materials for ſolid reflection, or ſettled ſo ſoon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience liſtened to his counſels with reſpect, and at a time when youth is almoſt privileged to be raſh, Virginia committed the ſafety of her frontier, and ultimately the ſafety of America, not merely to his valor, for that would be ſcarcely praiſe; but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambuſhes, the ſuddenneſs of his onſet, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The ſoul of WASHINGTON was thus exerciſed to danger; and on the firſt trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adverſity, cool in action, undaunted, ſelf-poſſeſſed. His ſpirit, and ſtill more his prudence, on the occaſion of Braddock's defeat, diffuſed his name throughout America, and acroſs the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her moſt hopeful ſon.

At the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in conſequence of her victories, ſtood in a poſition to preſcribe her own terms. She choſe, perhaps, better for us than for herſelf: for by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hoſtile neighbors; and we ſoon found juſt cauſe to be afraid of our protectors. We diſcerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has ſince ſo ſtrongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak ſtates can give, that will ſatisfy ſtrong allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have maſters. Our ſettlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increaſed; and it was diſcovered, that America was growing to a ſize that could defend itſelf.

In this, perhaps unforeſeen, but at length obvious ſtate of things, the Britiſh Government conceived a jealouſy of the Colonies, of which, and of their intended meaſures of precaution, they made no ſecret.

Thus it happened, that their foreſight of the evil aggravated its ſymptoms, and accelerated its progreſs. The coloniſts perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection; and reſolved that they would not be governed by force. Nobly reſolved! for had we ſubmitted to the Britiſh claims of right, we ſhould have had, if any, leſs than our ancient liberty; and held what

what might have been left by a worſe tenure.

Our nation, like its great leader, had only to take counſel from its courage. When WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in diſtreſs, his obedience was prompt; and though his ſacrifices were great, they coſt him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our hiſtory is but a tranſcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear teſtimony, that they are claims not to be ſatisfied. When overmatched by numbers; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful ſoldiers; the States as much exhauſted as diſmayed; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there reſources to retrieve our affairs. We have ſeen him diſplay as much valor as gives fame to heroes, and as conſummate prudence as inſures ſucceſs to valor; fearleſs of dangers that were perſonal to him; heſitating and cautious, when they affected his country; preferring fame before ſafety or repoſe; and duty, before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius, than America to WASHINGTON. Our nation ſhares with him the ſingular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildneſs, and a revolution, with order.

The event of that war ſeemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its Chief. Until that conteſt, a great part of the civilized world had been ſurpriſingly ignorant of the force and character, and almoſt of the exiſtence, of the Britiſh Colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curioſity to know the ſtate of thirteen wretched ſettlements, which vaſt woods incloſed, and ſtill vaſter woods divided from each other. They did not view the coloniſts ſo much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and ſolitude, and intermixture with the ſavages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they ſaw, was elate with her victories: Europe ſtood in awe of her power: her arms made the thrones of the moſt powerful unſteady, and diſturbed the tranquillity of their States, with an agitation more extenſive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to ſhake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hoſtility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies; in the wilds of Africa, it obſtructed the commerce in ſlaves; the whales, finding, in time of war, a reſpite from their purſuers, could venture to ſport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, ſuddenly, aſtoniſhed Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, ſtand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was ſo unequal, all expected it would be ſhort. The events of that war were ſo many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final ſucceſs exalted their admiration to its higheſt point: they allowed to WASHINGTON all that is due

to

to tranſcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They conſidered us as a race of WASHINGTONS, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and diſtorting all their repreſentations, aſſiſted to eſtabliſh the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practiſe induſtry, amidſt the abundance that requires none; that we have morals ſo refined, that we do not need laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to conſider their execution as an inſult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weakneſſes, ſentiment without paſſions, and liberty without factions. Theſe illuſions, in ſpite of their abſurdity, and, perhaps, becauſe they are abſurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents againſt the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illuſions are too ſoothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans.

They have been pernicious, as they cheriſh falſe ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty where it is not; and to conſider the government, which is its caſtle, as its priſon.

WASHINGTON retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their ſimplicity and their paſſions, and their glory ſoon departed. Europe began to be undeceived, and it ſeemed for a time, as if, by the acquiſition of independence, our citizens were diſappointed. The Confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to eſtabliſh juſtice, to inſure the tranquillity, and provide for the ſecurity, of the nation;" and accordingly, union was a name that ſtill commanded reverence, though not obedience. The ſyſtem called juſtice was, in ſome of the States, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquillity was ſuch a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the exploſion of an earthquake. Moſt of the States then were in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reaſon, it is true, ſpoke audibly in their conſtitutions; paſſion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honor of Maſſachuſetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the cauſes of a dangerous rebellion. It was ſcarcely poſſible that ſuch governments ſhould not be agitated by parties, and that prevailing parties ſhould not be vindictive and unjuſt. Accordingly, in ſome of the States, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be perſecutors; and, by the ſhock of all confidence and faith, ſociety was ſhaken to its foundations. Liberty we had; but we dreaded its abuſe almoſt as much as its loſs; and the wife, who deplored the one, clearly foreſaw the other.

The States were alſo becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impoſt, was for years levied by ſome of the commercial States upon their neighbors. Meaſures of retaliation

tion were reſorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the reſentments, whoſe never failing progreſs among ſtates is more injuſtice, vengeance, and war.

The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already ſharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three ſeperate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progreſs of licentiouſneſs would have ſoon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them. An age of blood and miſery would have puniſhed our diſunion: But theſe were not the conſiderations to deter ambition from its purpoſe, while there were ſo many circumſtances in our political ſituation to favor it.

At this awful criſis, which all the wiſe ſo much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retroſpect, ſo much more dreadful than their fears; ſome man was wanting, who poſſeſſed a commanding power over the popular paſſions, but over whom thoſe paſſions had no power.—That man was WASHINGTON.

His name, at the head of ſuch a liſt of worthies as would reflect honor on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almoſt all the well-diſpoſed among the leſs informed citizens, and, bleſſed be God! the Conſtitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honour of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in ſpite of the obſtacles which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age of *this*, would have been inſurmountable; in ſpite of the doubts and fears, which well meaning prejudice creates for itſelf, and which party ſo artfully inflames into ſtubbornneſs; in ſpite of the vice, which it has ſubjected to reſtraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in ſpite of the oligarchies in ſome of the States, from whom it ſnatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happineſs: invaluable! if the retroſpect of the dangers we have eſcaped, ſhall ſufficiently inculcate the principles we have ſo tardily eſtabliſhed. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without ſuffering much to deepen the impreſſion: for experience brandiſhes in her ſchool a whip of ſcorpions, and teaches nations her ſummary leſſons of wiſdom by the ſcars and wounds of their adverſity.

The amendments which have been projected in ſome of the States ſhew, that in them at leaſt, theſe leſſons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of States, ſome powerful, others weak, the weakneſs of the federal union will, ſooner or later, encourage, and will not reſtrain, the ambition and injuſtice of the members. The weak can no otherwiſe be ſtrong or ſafe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect,—which the blind jealouſy of the weak States not unfrequently contributes to prolong,—that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever exiſted.

Although it was impoſſible that ſuch merit as WASHINGTON's ſhould not produce envy, it was ſcarcely poſſible that, with ſuch a tranſcendent reputation, he ſhould have rivals. Accordingly, he was

was unanimouſly choſen Preſident of the United States.

As a general and a patriot, the meaſure of his glory was already full: there was no fame left for him to excel but his own; and even that taſk, the mightieſt of all his labours, his civil magiſtracy has accompliſhed.

No ſooner did the new government begin its auſpicious courſe, than order ſeemed to ariſe out of confuſion. The governments of Europe had ſeen the old Confederation ſinking, ſqualid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American Republic riſe ſuddenly from the ground, and, throwing off its grave clothes, exhibiting the ſtature and proportions of a young giant, refreſhed with ſleep. Commerce and induſtry awoke, and were cheerful at their labours; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of proſperity; and the only fear was, that its progreſs was too rapid, to conſiſt with the purity and ſimplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labours of the Preſident were inceſſant: his exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public ſervice: able officers were ſelected, only for their merits; and ſome of them remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſucceſsful management of the public buſineſs. Government was adminiſtered with ſuch integrity, without myſtery, and in ſo proſperous a courſe, that it ſeemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thouſand malecontents, it has never, by its rigor or injuſtice, made one man wretched.

Such was the ſtate of public affairs: and did it not ſeem perfectly to enſure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? did they not, in reſpect to their government and its adminiſtration, poſſeſs their whole heart's deſire? They had ſeen and ſuffered long the want of an efficient conſtitution: they had freely ratified it; they ſaw WASHINGTON, their tried friend, the father of his country, inveſted with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Conſider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: Such as no man ever before poſſeſſed by ſo clear a title, and in ſo high a degree. His fame ſeemed in its purity to exceed even its brightneſs: office took honour from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition ſtood awed and darkened by his ſhadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man ſo vain as to diſpute precedence with him; or what were the honors that could make the poſſeſſor WASHINGTON's ſuperior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the groſs could diſcern in his life the infinite ſuperiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived ſome change in their ideas of greatneſs: the ſplendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that WASHINGTON could augment his fame; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

This is not exaggeration: never was confidence in a man and a chief magiſtrate more widely

diffuſed,

diffuſed, or more ſolidly eſtabliſhed.

If it had been in the nature of man that we ſhould enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under theſe circumſtances, to expect it: but it was impoſſible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will ſeem ſtrange, but it ſcarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free ſtate in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no conteſts, and are not anxious to know how they ſhall uſe it. The ſpirit of diſcontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and ſighs itſelf to reſt. The people ſleep ſoundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They loſe their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animals: a ſtate of degradation, in which they extort our ſcorn, and engage our pity, for the miſery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a baſe one, and fit only for a ſlave's boſom, that would not bleed freely, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a condition; for liberty with all its parties and agitations is more deſirable than ſlavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once ſubſiſted in its exceſs, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and gliſtening to the laſt with the blaze of the very fire that conſumed it?

I do not know that I ought, but I am ſure that I do, prefer thoſe republics to the dozing ſlavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have ſuffered ſcorn till they merit it, where they tread on claſſic ground, on the aſhes of heroes and patriots, unconſcious of their anceſtry, ignorant of the nature, and almoſt of the name, of liberty, and inſenſible even to the paſſion for it. Who, on this contraſt, can forbear to ſay, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that ſleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkiſh darkneſs? It is the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is ſtill bright with glory, ſtill freſh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a leſs exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that thoſe who profeſs to be its moſt paſſionate admirers have, generally, the leaſt comprehenſion of its hazards and impediments: they expect that an enthuſiaſtic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irkſomeneſs of its reſtraints. Deluſive expectation! WASHINGTON was not thus deluded. We have his ſolemn warning againſt the often fatal propenſities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often falſe to their country and their honor, falſe to duty and even to their intereſt; but multitudes of men are never long falſe or deaf to their paſſions; theſe will find obſtacles in the laws, aſſociates in party. The fellowſhips thus formed are more intimate, and impoſe commands more imperious, than thoſe of ſociety.

Thus party forms a ſtate within the ſtate, and is animated by a rivalſhip, fear, and hatred, of its ſuperior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become freſh provocations and offences; for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that

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as ſoon as party found the virtue and glory of WASHINGTON were obſtacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to ſurmount them both. For this, the greateſt of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government muſt poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This *interior* ſtrength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unleſs it could be reinforced from *without* by the zeal and patriotiſm of the citizens; and this latter reſource was certainly as acceſſible to Preſident WASHINGTON, as to any chief magiſtrate that ever lived. The life of the federal government, he conſidered, was in the breath of the people's noſtrils: whenever they ſhould happen to be ſo infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end muſt be as ſpeedy, and might be as tragical, as a conſtitution for France.

* While the Preſident was thus adminiſtering the government, in ſo wiſe and juſt a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its ſupport, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progreſs, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occaſion, detain you to expreſs, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its deſpotiſm, by the mob or the military, from the firſt, and its hopocriſy of morals to the laſt. Scenes have paſſed there which exceed deſcription, and which, for other reaſons, I will not attempt to deſcribe; for it would not be poſſible, even at this diſtance of time, and with the ſea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving horror gather, like a froſt, about the heart, and almoſt ſtop its pulſe. That revolution has been conſtant in nothing but its viciſſitudes, and its promiſes; always deluſive but always renewed, to eſtabliſh philoſophy by crimes, and liberty by the ſword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a ſoldier's helmet: and, with all their imitation of dictators and conſuls, their exacteſt ſimilitude to theſe Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another reſemblance, in their all conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the meaſures of the Preſident, that belongs to my ſubject. It would be ingratefully wrong to his character to be ſilent in reſpect to a part of it, which has the moſt ſignally illuſtrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that revolution is not even yet ſo well underſtood

* The Government of Maſſachuſetts has manifeſted more than once, and ſo lately as the laſt year, a wiſe diſcernment of the pernicious tendency of certain uſurping claims by States, and of changes propoſed to aboliſh, under the name of amending, the Conſtitution.

The example has had its proper weight to produce, in other States, a like zealous and prompt ſupport of the national Government.

Long may ſuch patriotic zeal continue, and ever may its efforts obtain a like ſucceſs!

underſtood as the dictates of ſelf-preſervation require it ſhould be. The chief duty and care of all governments is to protect the rights of property, and the tranquillity of ſociety. The leaders of the French revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor againſt the rich: this has made the rich poor, but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were uſed only as blind inſtruments to make thoſe leaders maſters, firſt of the adverſe party, and then of the State. Thus the powers of the State were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preſerve tranquillity and reſtrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and ſtill is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ſhip, and if any right or poſſeſſion has eſcaped confiſcation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well-ordered ſociety. It is a danger, ſimilar in its kind, and at leaſt equal in degree, to that with which ancient Rome menaced her enemies. The allies of Rome were ſlaves; and it coſt ſome hundred years' efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can truſt no better to treaties; they cannot even truſt to arms, unleſs they are uſed with a ſpirit and perſeverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the firſt, hoſtile to all right and juſtice, to all peace and order in ſociety; and, therefore, its very exiſtence has been a ſtate of warfare againſt the civilized world, and moſt of all againſt free and orderly republics. For ſuch are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of deſtruction. Accordingly, ſcarcely any but republics have they ſubverted. Such governments, by ſhewing in practice what republican liberty *is*, detect French impoſture, and ſhew what their pretexts are *not*.

To ſubvert them, therefore, they had, beſides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greateſt obſtacles into their moſt efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be ſurpriſed, that the French and their partizans inſtantly conceived the deſire, and made the moſt powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? But it will hereafter ſeem ſtrange that their exceſſes ſhould be excuſed, as the effects of a ſtruggle for liberty, and that ſo many of our citizens ſhould be flattered, while they were inſulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles purſued. Nothing was ever more falſe, or more faſcinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the diſperſion of our people on farms, and on the almoſt equal diffuſion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whoſe authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all theſe produce on pub-

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lic opinion before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is reſtraint, *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning ſun of our ſummer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the ſun, when his rays dart peſtilence on the ſands of Africa. American liberty calms and reſtrains the licentious paſſions, like an angel that ſays to the winds and troubled ſeas; be ſtill. But how has French licentiouſneſs appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, repreſent her as a monſter, with eyes that flaſh wild fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that ſhakes the foundation of the hills? She ſtands, and her ambition meaſures the earth; ſhe ſpeaks, and an epidemic fury ſeizes the nations.

Experience is loſt upon us, if we deny, that it had ſeized a large part of the American Nation. It is as ſober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people, we have paſſions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulſe, which, for a time, miſled us.

Jacobiniſm had become here, as in France, rather a ſect than a party; inſpiring a fanaticiſm that was equally intolerant and contagious. The deluſion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority without proof; and jealous enough to exact acquieſcence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progreſs was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them nothing ſeemed amiable, but the revolutionary juſtice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and juſtice of America. The very name of *Patriots* was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party diſcerned its intimate connexion of intereſt with France, and conſummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

The views of theſe allies required that this country ſhould engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing leſs would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: Nothing leſs would enſure the ſubjection of America, as a ſatellite to the ambition of France: Nothing elſe could make a revolution here perfectly inevitable.

For this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the moment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated paſſions ſhould be in fuſion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and conſume the peace and government of our country.

The ſyſtematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were ſucceſſively purſued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be ſoon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worſt of evils in this worſt of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the States, amendments were propoſed to break down the Federal Senate, which, as in the State Governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary

diciary power was claimed for States. In another State a rebellion was fomented by the agent of France: And who, without freſh indignation, can remember, that the powers of Government were openly uſurped; troops levied, and ſhips fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our Government conſider without dread, that, ſoon afterwards, the treaty making power was boldly challenged for a branch of the government, from which the conſtitution has wiſely withholden it.

I am oppreſſed, and know not how to proceed with my ſubject—WASHINGTON, bleſſed be GOD! who endued him with wiſdom and clothed him with power—WASHINGTON iſſued his Proclamation of Neutrality, and, at an early period, arreſted the intrigues of France and the paſſions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

This act of firmneſs, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the firſt of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good ſenſe, and they ſoon recovered them. The criſis was paſſed, and America was ſaved.

You and I, moſt reſpected fellow-citizens, ſhould be ſooner tired than ſatisfied in recounting the particulars of this illuſtrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he adminiſtered the Government, how much greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the chief military command under his wiſe and upright ſucceſſor, how his life was unſpotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are ſo many diſtinct ſubjects of inſtruction, and each of them ſingly more than enough for an elogium. I leave the taſk however to hiſtory and to poſterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impoſſible, that ſome will affect to conſider the honors paid to this great patriot by the nation, as exceſſive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I anſwer, that refuſing to virtue its legitimate honors would not prevent their being laviſhed, in future, on any worthleſs and ambitious favorite. If this day's example ſhould have its natural effect, it will be ſalutary. Let ſuch honors be ſo conferred only when, in future, they ſhall be ſo merited: Then the public ſentiment will not be miſled, nor the principles of a juſt equality corrupted. The beſt evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all WASHINGTON's before us. There has ſcarcely appeared a really great man, whoſe character has been more admired in his life time, or leſs correctly underſtood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no eaſy taſk to delineate its excellencies in ſuch a manner, as to give to the portrait both intereſt and reſemblance. For it requires thought and ſtudy to underſtand the true ground of the ſuperiority of his character over many others, whom he reſembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the ſteadineſs of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity

formity of all his conduct to the ſame maxims. Theſe maxims, though wiſe, were yet not ſo remarkable for their wiſdom, as for their authority over his life: For if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he diſcovered as few as any man) we know of no blemiſhes in his virtue. He was the patriot without reproach: He loved his country well enough to hold his ſucceſs in ſerving it an ample recompenſe. Thus far ſelf-love and love of country coincided: But when his country needed ſacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did not even heſitate. This was virtue in its moſt exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reaſon to think it would be ſacrificed, at leaſt in this age.

Two inſtances cannot be denied: When the army was diſbanded; and again, when he ſtood, like LEONIDAS at the paſs of Thermopylæ, to defend our independence againſt France.

It is indeed almoſt as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of Virtue. The reaſons are ſimilar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obſcure, becauſe they are complex, and we are obliged to reſort to illuſtrations. WASHINGTON's example is the happieſt to ſhew what virtue is; and to delineate his character, we naturally expiate on the beauty of virtue: Much muſt be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not ſo much to be ſeen in the diſplay of any one virtue, as in the poſſeſſion of them all, and in the practice of the moſt difficult. Hereafter therefore his character muſt be ſtudied before it will be ſtriking; and then it will be admitted as a model; a precious one to a free Republic.

It is no leſs difficult to ſpeak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being miſled by them. In this he was certainly ſuperior, that he neither miſtook nor miſapplied his own. His great modeſty and reſerve would have concealed them, if great occaſions had not called them forth; and then, as he never ſpoke from the affectation to ſhine, nor acted from any ſiniſter motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatneſs and extent. In public truſts, where men, acting conſpicuouſly, are cautious, and in thoſe private concerns, where few conceal or reſiſt their weakneſſes, WASHINGTON was uniformly great; purſuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were ſuch, as aſſiſt a ſound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was conſummate, and ſeemed to take the direction of his powers and paſſions; for, as a Soldier, he was more ſolicitous to avoid miſtakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant; and as a Stateſman, to adhere to juſt principles, however old, than to purſue novelties; and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were ſingularly adapted to the intereſt, and were tried in the greateſt perils, of the country. His habits of inquiry were ſo far remarkable, that he was never ſatisfied with inveſtigating, nor deſiſted from it, ſo long as he had leſs than all the light that he could obtain

obtain upon a ſubject; and then he made his deciſion without bias.

This command over the partialities that ſo generally ſtop men ſhort, or turn them aſide, in their purſuit of truth, is one of the chief cauſes of his unvaried courſe of right conduct in ſo many difficult ſcenes, where every human actor muſt be preſumed to err.

If he had ſtrong paſſions, he had learned to ſubdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weakneſſes, he concealed them, which is rare, and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is ſtill more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed is of the kind that will laſt forever; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future PLUTARCH will ſearch for a parallel to his character. EPAMINONDAS is perhaps the brighteſt name of all antiquity. Our WASHINGTON reſembled him in the purity and ardor of his patriotiſm; and like him, he firſt exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends: For THEBES fell with EPAMINONDAS. But ſuch compariſons cannot be purſued far, without departing from the ſimilitude. For we ſhall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts: others, for the majeſtic ſilence and fullneſs of their ſtreams: We cannot bring them together to meaſure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of WASHINGTON, declining fame yet courted by it, ſeemed, like the Ohio, to chooſe its long way through ſolitudes, diffuſing fertility; or like his own Potowmac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the ſea, and diſplaying moſt the uſefulneſs and ſerenity of his greatneſs towards the end of his courſe. Such a citizen would do honor to any country. The conſtant veneration and affection of his country will ſhew, that it was worthy of ſuch a citizen.

However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magiſtracy, that his example will inſtruct them. Great Generals have ariſen in all ages of the world, and perhaps moſt in thoſe of deſpotiſm and darkneſs. In times of violence and convulſion, they riſe, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the ſtorm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a ſplendor, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing viſible but the darkneſs. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: They multiply in every long war: They ſtand in hiſtory, and thicken in their ranks, almoſt as undiſtinguiſhed as their own ſoldiers.

But ſuch a Chief-Magiſtrate as WASHINGTON, appears like the pole ſtar in a clear ſky, to direct the ſkilful ſtateſman. His preſidency will form an epoch, and be diſtinguiſhed as the age of WASHINGTON. Already it aſſumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemiſphere. The lateſt generations of men will ſurvey,

vey, through the teleſcope of hiſtory, the ſpace where ſo many virtues blend their rays, and delight to ſeparate them into groups and diſtinct virtues. As the beſt illuſtration of them, the living monument, to which the firſt of Patriots would have choſen to conſign his fame, it is my earneſt prayer to Heaven, that our country may ſubſiſt, even to that late day, in the plentitude of its liberty and happineſs, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON's.

THE POLITICAL REVIEW. No. III.

THERE has always exiſted in mankind two oppoſite diſpoſitions, a love of novelty, and an attachment to old uſages. The former is ingrafted on curioſity, which is found in a greater or leſs degree in every mind; it becomes the ruling paſſion of the ardent projector, and is the ignis fatuus that conſtantly allures and bewilders the volatile and unſettled, who ſpend their time, like the Athenians of old, inquiring after ſome "new thing." The latter is the effect of early attachments, and what ſome might call a contracted, others, perhaps, a prudent education. It is predominant with the ignorant in the lower grades of ſociety, and the better informed of ſettled principles and ſyſtematic habits.

One naturally makes the mind unſtable, by leading it from certain enjoyment, through the wild rout of precarious pleaſures; and, when it launches into the wide field of ſpeculation, in its rapid progreſs of new frivolity, and half finiſhed experiments, leaves far behind the ſound maxims of experience, and the ſober dictates of truth. The other binds men to a certain ſet of cuſtoms and habits, which they receive by right of inheritance, or force of education; incaſed in theſe, like the ſilk-worm in its web, they are content to be obſtinately regular, mechanically virtuous, and blindly happy. Under theſe different paſſions are enliſted the adverſe partiſans, for new faſhions, and old cuſtoms. It is well when they extend their influence only to the cut of a coat, the ſhape of a head dreſs, or the minutiæ of etiquette. When either a rage for novelty, or a blind adherence to ancient uſages, become the ruling paſſion of a man, he reſigns the dignity of his nature—reaſon. This ſhould teach him to ſteer the middle courſe between bigotry and licentouſneſs: Though it have not the charms of novelty, nor the force of inſtinct or habit, it will dictate him to lean on the ſafe ſide, and not to outſtrip ſlow, progreſſive improvement for impracticable reformation.

One or the other of theſe principles have become predominant in the public mind of almoſt all countries in all ages. Happily moſt nations have followed the ſafer guide, and evinced their attachment to immemorial uſages, which were at firſt introduced by enlightened ages from their obvious utility, and have been venerated by ſucceeding generations for their antiquity. Thus in national inſtitutions, generally ſpeaking, ſuperſtition

ſuperſtition and bigotry are nothing more than ignorance lending its aid to wiſdom, and vice yielding to virtue. Wiſdom thus tarniſhed, is preferable to ſplendid folly, and vice thus controlled to dazzling licentouſneſs. The laws and inſtitutions which have exiſted time out of mind, in moſt of the older nations of the world, may be compared to a river riſing from a pure ſource, but tainted by the filth of the ſoil over which it paſſes in its long progreſs, till at length, inſtead of being a benefit to man, it becomes his bane.—Where the human intellect is matured by ſcience, and inveſtigation takes its free courſe, the river, to keep up the alluſion, is ſupplied by the continual influx of pure ſtreams, and increaſes in dignity, utility and magnitude, without ſuffering a contamination in its quality.

Moſt of the nations of modern Europe come within this exception, ſo honourable to the human race, and have neither yielded to the iron ſceptre of bigotry abſolute, nor given the rein to haſty, chimerical reformation, that is rich in faith and promiſes, but barren, very barren in good works. Among theſe exceptions England claims an eminent rank.

Our forefathers, the Anglo-Americans, while under the control of Great-Britain, partook of her habits and adhered to her inſtitutions, as far as circumſtances peculiar to their young provinces would admit. Induſtry, virtue, and ſteady loyalty, were the leading traits of the American character. To complete the charter of a growing and important nation one eſſential was wanting—Independence—we know the blood and treaſure which this coſt; and we glory in the balance which remains in our favour. Yet we have to regret, and have cauſe to regret ſeriouſly, that the purchaſe was not only at the expenſe of blood and treaſure, but of thoſe regular habits of moral rectitude, firm adherence to wholeſome regulations, which conſtitute the good citizen, and that national ſtability, which conſtitutes ſo important a part of its character.

The European politician, who ſurveyed the ſtate of America after her revolutionary ſtruggle, and before the adoption of the Federal Conſtitution, and beheld her citizens debauched with the luxuriance of libefty—her ſeveral States cut off from their former head, purſuing oppoſite intereſts, oppreſſed with public and private debts, fomented with jealouſies, governed by different and undigeſted laws—each ſovereign, and all without any common bond to unite them together—while he ſurveyed this picture, he pronounced, and on the authority of the experience of ages, that America was incapable of ſelf government, and that nothing ſhort of the voice of Omnipotence could call order out of this political chaos.

When thus tottering on the confines of anarchy, the people of America had diſcernment to ſee their danger. From their good ſenſe, to their own honour and the aſtoniſhment of Europe, was furniſhed a remedy, anticipated by thoſe who were unacquainted with the genius of our countrymen in nothing ſhort of foreign interference, or the interpoſition of a miracle.

In the formation and adoption of our preſent Conſtitution, was found

found a ſubſtitute for, if not an improvement upon thoſe venerable codes of legiſlation, which, while they have received the ſanction, have alſo ſuffered the abuſes of time.

It is not the intention of the author, at this time to analyze this Conſtitution, or point out the excellence of its component parts. Without going into particulars, its greateſt eulogy is to ſay, that it was the offspring of enlightened wiſdom, and calm diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion. As it was calculated to ſecure the beſt intereſts of our citizens, it was received by them as become independent freemen, from no other force, but that of conviction, after a deliberate and impartial examination. It was the fruit of no other triumph, but that of wiſdom over ignorance and prejudice. If we might reſtore to their proper ſignification, words which have been ſhamefully perverted, we might emphatically ſtyle this Conſtitution, the "*Temple of Reaſon.*"

Our devotion to it is the reſult of the underſtanding, from an experiment of its utility. In future generations, if it ſtand the teſt of time (and Heaven grant it may) it will unite the judgment and the paſſions of our poſterity in its ſupport, and receive that veneration which is acquired by the ſanction of ages. What is our duty to give it this ſtability; to unite paſſion with underſtanding in its ſupport?—In the firſt place, let us ſee if it is entitled to our unreſerved approbation. If we may judge from what we have experienced, I truſt it will be allowed it is; and to ſomething more—our gratitude. To prove this, facts without much reflection will ſupply the place of argument—Every American of mature years has a lively recollection of the contraſt between the ſtate of our country before the adoption of the Conſtitution, and ſince to the preſent time.

This viſible and happy change in our favour was the obvious effect of a wiſe and energetic ſyſtem of national government. From this era may be dated the union of theſe States and the exiſtence of America as a nation.

Before the concuſſions of the French revolution reached our ſhores, experience excluded the neceſſity of reaſoning on the Federal Conſtitution: it ſaid every thing in its favour. All who loved their own intereſt and ſecurity approved of the Conſtitution; for it was demonſtration to the common ſenſe of all, that it guarded and promoted both. But thoſe were tranquil times. It had not yet ſtood the teſt of the ſtorm. A political tempeſt, which has ſhook the firmeſt fabrics of government in the Old World to their baſe, has ſince tried its ſtrength and proved its competency to protect us in times of commotion. Though removed far from this tremendous vortex, we were perhaps the neareſt in real danger. Had the poiſonous cup of French liberty been preſented to enervated Columbia while reeling with the fume of her own freedom, before ſhe was awakened to temperance and vigilance, and diſciplined by the wiſdom and energy of the general government; it is not in the compaſs of the mind to imagine what human effort could have ſaved her from irretrievable ruin. Inſtead therefore of conſidering the diſcords which have prevailed among us as owing to

any

any defect in the Conſtitution, we ought, I think, to view it as the gift of Heaven, through the timely exertion of our wiſe men, which has ſaved our country from a general wreck of morals and religion, and preſerved the faith, dignity and union of the nation.

The majority of enlightened Americans, I am perſuaded, feel a conviction, that this is not attributing too much to the Federal Conſtitution. It has had, and ſurvived its trials. To aſk if it were perfect would be vain. It is the work of man. Since it has had a fair experiment under the moſt critical and trying circumſtances, and has been found fully adequate to the great purpoſes for which it was formed, we ought to rely on it with confidence, and give it the full ſupport of opinion.

A raſh attempt to perfect, is too often ſucceſsful only in deſtroying. Whoever ſurveys the preſent ſtate of ſociety in America, and takes into conſideration the different opinions of its citizens in politics and religion, and the unſettled habits of a large portion of them in practical morality, will ſee the neceſſity of a reform of manners, and a union of ſentiment; and at the ſame time be ſenſible, that innovation in great political points, would not remove but increaſe the diſorder, and probably leave it without a remedy.

At preſent we have no common bond of Union, but the Federal Compact; this, if we conſider it only in a ſocial point of view, has a manifeſt tendency, to cultivate a good underſtanding between the States, and to introduce a uniformity in their laws, habits and manners. Should it be generally contemplated, as nothing more than a providential ſyſtem only, a mere ſubſtitute for ſomething better, which exiſts only in the teeming imagination of innovators; it will find diſſentients, and apoſtates too, ſo long as ignorance has the preſumption to arraign the finiſhed works of wiſdom, or impoſe its dictates on experience, and its firſt principles, inſtead of the meaſures of its officers, might ſoon become the avowed object of diſpute. But ſhould the time ever arrive when its articles ſhall be received like the laws of the "Medes and Perſians which alter not," we may from that period, calculate with certainty on the ſtability of the American character, and the ſecurity of her peace and honours. Conſidering its principles as eſtabliſhed maxims, not to be controverted, we ſhall find in the common occurences of life ſufficient ſcope for our invention, errors enough to correct, and abuſes to reform. While as members of ſociety, and intereſted for the public weal, we ſhall do well to bear in mind, that it requires but few great politicians to direct the affairs of a nation; but many good citizens are wanted to make it reſpectable and happy.

UNION.

To the Editor of the Columbian Phenix.

SIR,

IF you ſhould deem the following Extract worthy a place in your Phenix, by inſerting it you will oblige one of your conſtant readers and humble ſervant,

S. B.

ANTIQUITIES

ANTIQUITIES OF INTERIOR AMERICA.

[From the Manuſcript of a late Traveller.]

BESIDES thoſe ruins in the Illinois and Wabaſh countries, which have been often mentioned, there are others no leſs remarkable many hundreds of miles farther weſt, and particularly in the country about the great falls of the Miſſiſippi. As we approach theſe falls, commonly called St. Anthony's, we frequently meet with pyramids of earth, from 30 to 70, and even 80 feet in height. Theſe are, moſt probably, the tombs of the ancient kings and chieftains of this part of America, though there are others which I am inclined to believe were erected in conſequence of ſome ſignal victory, and poſſibly, to cover the bones and carcaſſes of the ſlain. In digging horizontally into ſeveral of theſe pyramids, a little above the baſe, we generally found a ſtratum of white ſubſtance, ſomewhat like moiſt lime, and glutinous withal, extending in all probability ſeveral yards within; or perhaps nearly the whole length of the diametrical line. I had even reaſon to believe this conſolidated chalky ſubſtance to be the remains of ſkeletons, buried perhaps 200 centuries ago, and converted by time, and the operation of the elements, into their preſent ſtate.

Many tokens remain, on both ſides of the Miſſiſippi, of the country being in ancient ages as well cultivated and as thickly inhabited as the country on the Danube or the Rhine; which fully proves that the literati have been too haſty, in denominating America a new world, or an original preſent to the Europeans from the hands of rude nature.

A copper-mine was opened ſome years ſince, farther down the Miſſiſippi, and to the great ſurpriſe of the labourers, a large collection of mining tools were found ſeveral fathoms below the ſuperficies of the earth. Another perſon, in digging for a well, diſcovered a furnace of brick work, five fathoms below the preſent ſurface; and in this furnace were found a quantity of coals and fire-brands, which, for aught we know, might have been kindled in the days of Moſes or Lycurgus.

Not long ſince, at a ſpot on the ſhore of the Ohio, where the bank had been waſted by the undermining of the water, a ſtone dropped out, of the hardeſt kind of black marble, about ſeven pounds in weight, having twelve equal ſurfaces, each ſurface being mathematically equilateral and equingular five ſided figures; this does not appear to be a luſus naturæ, but a work of exquiſite art, the offſpring of human ingenuity.

Near the falls of the Miſſiſippi, there is a ſalt ſpring in the bed of a river, which has been incloſed with ſtone work of unknown antiquity, to keep out freſh water. In times of freſhes, however, the river overflows the ſtone work, and mixes with the brine, ſo that it does not afford ſalt to the ſavages hereabouts, until the river is conſiderably fallen.

In ſeveral places, circular fortifications have been diſcovered in the ſame country: theſe are conſtantly incloſed with deep ditches,

and

and fenced with a breaſtwork. From theſe, and many other ſimilar remains of antiquity, one would be inclined to think the world much older than has been commonly imagined. Several tribes on the weſtern ſide of the great river above mentioned, date their national exiſtence for more than 20,000 moons back; and the Indians of the eaſtern world go infinitely farther into the depths of time, though both relate many events of theſe diſtant periods, that are evidently mixed with fable.

COMMON SENSE IN DISHABILLE. No. 39.

The Dun.

NOTHING is more ſtrange than the unaccountable turns and changes, that take place in the capricious taſte of mankind, or more true than the proverb, "What is one man's meat is another's poiſon."—This impertinent intruder called a *Dun*, has been the cauſe of more wry faces, and ruffled ſpirits, in the civilized world, than any one thing, except a guilty conſcience. So odious has it always been in moſt countries, that people of all claſſes, who have much regard for their eaſe or reputation, have ſo managed their affairs as to keep it from their doors, or at leaſt to avoid its viſit before company.

Far otherwiſe in New-England. Whether Providence has been more bountiful to my fellow-citizens of this favoured part of the world, than to others, and organized them in ſuch a manner, that what gives pain to moſt people, affords them pleaſure—or what may be the cauſe, the more penetrating muſt determine. But ſo it is. To many of them, the ſound of a *Dun*, ſo grating to moſt ears, is the ſweeteſt melody. When modified from the heart—"Pay me what thou oweſt," to, "Sir, here is a ſmall bill, I hope you will give me the pleaſure of receipting of it."—"I am in extreme want of the money, and hope you will do me the kindneſs to pay it."—"I have called on you twenty times, Sir, do not oblige me to call again," &c. &c. &c. The blunt imperative, "Pay me, &c." to be ſure does not melt in the ear of our greateſt *dun lovers*, but is apt to diſcompoſe them a little. With the above modifications, declarative of the independence of the debtor, and the obligation he has it in his power to lay the creditor under, by not breaking his promiſe, it has an irreſiſtible charm, and affords a pleaſure, for the enjoyment of which he will forego almoſt any inconvenience, except parting with a little caſh, the right to which belongs to the demandant. Theſe aſſertions may appear very ſtrange, to thoſe who have not ſeen the facts confirmed by obſervations.

This perpetual *Dun*, may poſſibly derive part of the pleaſure attendant on it, from the good conſequences it produces in keeping up a correſpondence and good neighbourhood between the debtor and creditor. Nothing certainly could

could be better calculated to inculcate the doctrine of liberty and equality, than this ſame page of a *Dun*, accompanied by the officious elf, the poor labourer, and humble mechanic, who may continue the repeated viſit to the firſt rate gentlemen; and as an incontrovertible proof that they are cordially welcome, will be ſtill preſſed by their condeſcending ſuperiors to call again.

How it ſhould happen that among people, diſtinguiſhed as men of buſineſs, deſpiſing ceremony on moſt occaſions, this tedious, complimentary amuſement, ſhould poſſeſs ſuch charms, and find ſo many advocates, remains for the curious to determine. It is the office of ill nature only to turn people out of a path, they tread with pleaſure, however circuitous it may be. But where amuſement is attended with an extravagant waſte of time, and many other ſerious inconveniencies, ſuch as a diſregard of all promiſes and appointments, on which the regularity of buſineſs depends, depriving the labourer of his expected and hard earned meal, ſhutting up the honeſt creditor in the priſon of his own houſe, or driving him to the neceſſity of reſorting to the law, in order to obtain in ſome few half years what he ought to have received on demand—theſe are grievances that demand a redreſs, and preach loudly againſt the ill conſequences of the amuſement alluded to.

The writer of this is no adept at abſtract reaſoning and grave didactic lectures. It is his buſineſs to ſend facts naked into the world, and ſtrip principles of the falſe dreſs faſhion has given them, and let them take their chance for advocates or enemies.

In order to furniſh ſome data, from which to determine the merits of this *dunning ſyſtem*, he will particularize a few of its inconveniencies in one branch of buſineſs, and leave it with the reader to eſtimate its advantages in that and other occupations.

The editor of a newſpaper, if qualified for his important ſtation, is a man who often needs, and always merits a punctual payment for his ſervices. His income is made up of ſmall ſums, of from one to four dollars, the annual price of his paper, and ſtill ſmaller for advertiſements. Theſe papers are principally circulated in the country, and form the principal reading of our yeomanry, and are the mediums of that information, which they juſtly prize as their higheſt privilege. But the moſt ardent lovers of freedom pay its centinels with reluctance, and with all their prejudice againſt ſome more ſalutary ones, are the moſt faithful advocates for the *dunning ſyſtem*. The paper which ought always to be paid for in advance, is commonly taken on credit, with the promiſe of pay, quarterly, half yearly, or at furtheſt at the end of the year. Sometimes the ſecond or third year, if the editor is not fairly ſtarved before that time, he begins to *dun* his good cuſtomer.

This dunning correſpondence, by advertiſements and private letters, (how many years longer, I am unable to aſcertain) in a mongrel manner, as cuſtom requires, half way between a beggar's petition and a prompt demand, for fear, I ſuppoſe, the good cuſtomer ſhould think Mr. Editor was about

to monopolize all the caſh in the country, and become ariſtocrat, and turn up his noſe with indignation, and drop the paper.

In our ſea-ports, it would be a matter of curious calculation, to compute the ſhoe-leather, that is often worn out, in running for the pay of a 75 ct. advertiſement, and ſee how much the editor would have ſaved by giving the debt, without any allowance for the time ſpent in dunning.

It is unneceſſary to add, that after the editor has more than doubly earned his money by this wonderful promptitude in delay, he thinks himſelf well off if he even realizes two thirds of his due.

Some will reply by way of paliation, that I have ſelected a glaring inſtance. That the good people of New England, conſidering the vexations attendant on the career of authors of all kinds, make a point of nipping miſery in the bud, and from motives of benevolence, fling every obſtacle in the way of every one who puts ink to paper, unleſs in the form of a ledger, day-book, note, or bill of exchange, from the printer's devil, up to the ſchool-maſter, editor, poet, and hiſtorian.

Be this as it may, I believe many are ready to acknowledge, that credit, which with punctual men, "is the life of trade," has been the ruin of one half of our bankrupt traders, ſince it has opened the door to a never ceaſing train of *Duns*.

PASQUINIANA.

Quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non.

"A thing of ſhreds and patches." SHAKESPEARE.

IN the early part of my life, I had the pleaſure of being introduced to the late Dr. *Oliver Goldſmith*, by Dr. *Brockleſby*, our common friend: the author of the Deſerted Village was a ſmall man, about five feet ſix inches in height, and his countenance was rather of a ſingular formation: he had a projecting forehead, with a little, cocked-up noſe: he wore a tailed wig, which never ſeemed to fit him, and his appearance altogether was ſo groteſque, that it excited an inclination in the beholder to ſmile; but that propenſity ſubſided, when the Doctor had ſpoken.

The firſt time I ſaw him, he was ſitting on the carpet of my friend's drawing-room, playing with two infants; nor did I know who he was, nor did he deſiſt from his ſportiveneſs, until a formal introduction had taken place, on the arrival of our hoſt.

Though Dr. *Goldſmith* was an able and verſatile writer, he did not manage converſation adroitly: he frequently heſitated, and not unfrequently committed blunders, though they were of the moſt innocent tendency: his unopportune remark at the table of the preſent *Marquis of Lanſdowne*, is well known. It had been the faſhion with his Lordſhip's enemies, to deſignate him as *Malagrida:* a ſubject which the Doctor very unfortunately introduced, and which he rendered highly embarraſſing, by obſerving, that it was very ſurpriſing the world ſhould take ſuch a liberty

a liberty with his Lordſhip, and the more eſpecially, as it was well known that *Malagrida* was a very honeſt man!

When *Gray* publiſhed his charming *Elegy*, as written in a Country Churchyard, the late Duke of Northumberland ſent him five hundred pounds ſterling as a recompenſe to the Lyriſt, for the pleaſure he had derived from his labours. This circumſtance was often mentioned by Goldſmith, with that ſort of concern, as ſignified that he imagined himſelf as in ſome degree entitled to a ſimilar tribute; as this diſpoſition of mind was known, the Doctor's creditors uſed it to his diſcomfiture. He was at that time embarraſſed and refuſed to ſee company: they wrote a letter, as from the Duke, appointing him to come to Northumberland Houſe, at a particular hour, and by this ſtratagem they drew him forth from his retirement. The Doctor obeyed the injunction with the moſt lively ſatisfaction: he went in a hackney ſedan chair, with the curtains drawn cloſely round. On arriving at the Duke's palace, the chairman knocked very loudly, when the porter ſurlily inquired what they wanted, by making ſuch a confounding noiſe. I want the Duke, ſaid the Doctor: The Duke is out of town, and will not return until the end of the month: That cannot be poſſible, rejoined the Doctor, for here is a letter in his own hand writing, which I received yeſterday, appointing me to come at this hour preciſely. It's all a d—d lie, retorted the ſaucy *Cerberus*, and ſhut the gate in his teeth—the Doctor ſtood aghaſt with aſtoniſhment, at this proceeding; but his amazement did not laſt long, as a necromancer, or wizard, in the form of a bailiff, or ſheriff's officer, ſtept up and arreſted the enſnared poet!

Biſhop WATSON and THOMAS PAINE.

Mr. Thomas Paine has called the Pſalms of David, and the Proverbs of Solomon, "SONG-BOOKS, and JEST-BOOKS." Biſhop Watſon has a little note upon Thomas Paine's call—and if we can preſume to think we know at all where wit and humour are, they are in the few words which follow—words which are, at the ſame time, weighty with matter to be revered; knowledge, judgment, pious purpoſes, and a moſt apt and eloquent enforcement of them.

DAVID and SOLOMON.

"It is an error," you ſay, "to call the Pſalms—the Pſalms of David." This error was obſerved by St. Jerome, many hundred years before you were born. His words are, "We know that they are in an error who attribute all the Pſalms to David." You, I ſuppoſe, will not deny that David wrote ſome of them. Songs are of various ſorts; we have hunting ſongs, drinking ſongs, fighting ſongs, love ſongs, fooliſh, wanton, wicked ſongs; if you will have the "Pſalms of David to be nothing but a collection from different ſong-writers," you muſt allow that the *writers of them were inſpired by no ordinary ſpirit*, that it is a collection incapable of being degraded by the name you give it; that it greatly excels every other collection in matter and

in manner!—Compare the Book of Pſalms with the Odes of Horace or Anacreon—with the Hymns of Callimachus—the golden Verſes of Pythagoras—the Choruſes of the Greek Tragedian, (no contemptible compoſitions any of theſe) and you will quickly ſee how greatly it ſurpaſſes them all in piety of ſentiment, in ſublimity of expreſſion, in purity of morality, and in rational theology!

As you eſteem the Pſalms of David a Song-Book, it is conſiſtent enough in you to eſteem the Proverbs of Solomon a Jeſt-Book: there have not come down to us above eight hundred of his jeſts; if we had the whole three thouſand which he wrote, our mirth would be extreme! Let us open the book, and ſee what kind of *jeſts* it contains: take the very firſt as a ſpecimen. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; but *fools deſpiſe* wiſdom and inſtruction." Do you perceive any jeſt in this? The fear of the Lord! What Lord does Solomon mean? He means that Lord who took the poſterity of Abraham to be his peculiar people; who redeemed that people from Egyptian bondage, by a miraculous interpoſition of his power! who gave the law to Moſes! who commanded the Iſrealites to exterminate the nations of Canaan! Now this Lord you will not fear: the *jeſt* ſays, *you deſpiſe* wiſdom and inſtruction. Let us try again—"My ſon, hear the inſtruction of thy father, and forſake not the law of thy mother." If your heart has been ever touched by parental feelings, you will ſee *no jeſt* in this! Once more—"My ſon, if ſinners entice thee, conſent thou not!" Theſe are the three firſt Proverbs in Solomon's "*Jeſt Book;*" if you read it through, it may *not make you merry;* I hope it will make you WISE; that it will teach you, at leaſt, the *beginning* of WISDOM—the fear of that Lord whom Solomon feared.

SIR William Dawes, Archbiſhop of York, was very fond of a pun. His clergy dining with him, for the firſt time, after he had loſt his lady, he told them, he feared they did not find things in ſo good order as they uſed to be in the time of poor Mary; and, looking extremely ſorrowful, added, with a deep ſigh, "She was indeed, *Mare pacificum!*" A curate, who pretty well knew what ſhe had been, called out, "Aye, my lord, but ſhe was *Mare mortuum* firſt." Sir William gave him a living of 200l. per annum within two months.

KING of GREAT-BRITAIN.

THE King of Great-Britain is a ſtout, muſcular man: about five feet eleven inches in height: he is rather in-kneed, but looks remarkably well on horſeback: his hair is nearly white, which is a characteriſtic of the Brunſwick race: his countenance is fair and ruddy; his eyes grey, and his teeth are regular and white, but unuſually large. He is a gentleman of plain habits, and ſeldom eats of more than one diſh; and he is very moderate in the uſe of wine. He riſes, in ſummer, at five o'clock in the morning, and in winter, at day-light, and ſometimes before. He is exceedingly familiar and kind in his language to the poor people about Windſor. He is inceſſant in his queſ-

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tions, but ſeldom gives the party time to return an anſwer. In the hours of relaxation from the fatigues of government, he amuſes himſelf in agricultural purſuits, or hunting, or liſtening to the beſt airs and *ſonatos* of Handel, of whoſe muſic he is paſſionately fond. I have ſeen ſome architectural drawings, by his Majeſty, which were not deſtitute of merit. He is a patron of the fine arts, and created the Royal Academy, a circumſtance of national glory, that reflects the higheſt credit upon his name. His memory is very tenacious, and when he has imbibed an opinion, it is ſcarcely poſſible to remove it by any argument that wiſdom may dictate. He is unqueſtionably a benevolent man, and means to be right; and it is a lamentable circumſtance for his own country, and a great portion of human nature, when he is influenced to give his ſanction to a deed of impolicy, by a weak or wicked Couſellor: he enforces the precepts of morality by all the means within his power, and is, in his own perſon, an illuſtration of the beauty of *private* virtue.

OLD GRUBS.

LUKE XII. 20.

"THANK God!" exclaimed old Grubs, ſtanding near a lofty mountain, and looking with infinite complacency at the domains Chriſtie's hammer had aſſigned him: "Thank God! I am worth at leaſt a plumb!

"I am worth at leaſt a plumb!" ſaid he, "fairly ſcraped together by lucky hits in the Alley and at 'Change. Well! Let me ſee—Aye, I'll buy Jack a Norfolk borough; Bob ſhall have a company in the guards; and Polly—yes, Polly ſhall take the *booing* Earl of Littledale.

"I am worth at leaſt a plumb! and was juſt ſixty-five laſt Candlemas. I am yet hale and ſtrong; none better plays his part at our civic feaſts. Go to: I'll now withdraw from the buſtle of the world, and the buſy hum of men. I'll *ſecede*, like others, *to my hill*. I'll retire, and enjoy life.

"Good!" continued old Grubs, manfully ſtumping up the mountain's ſide; "Good! I am worth at leaſt a plumb! I'll build me a ſnug warm box: here I'll plant my orchards; on this ſide ſhall be my ſummer-houſe; on that my hot-beds; round that jutting angle we'll run up the ſtables; and there I'll ſink my cellars and my ice-houſe.——Whew! How all thoſe d——d huts and hovels obſtruct my views! No matter. I'll e'en take them off 'Squire Bumpkin's hands at once: and then—every one of them comes down."

"Conſider, your worſhip!" interpoſed the ſteward, "conſider, Sir, what will the poor labourers or their wives do without cottages to rooſt in?"—"Do? Curſe 'em! Do? Why let them do as they can. 'Tis no concern of mine.—Hark-ye, do'ſt ſee that ſame mill yonder, which keeps up ſuch an infernal clack? Do'ſt ſee, I ſay, how its wheel diſturbs my ſtream? Come, come; no words; that ſhall go along with them."

"Dear, your honour, only conſider. Where ſhall the country people get their corn ground?"—"Fiddle-faddle, man! Where they like, to be ſure! But *not upon my grounds*."

So

So old Grubs came home, rejoicing in the projects of his brain. He supped heartily; he took his ale, and he cracked his jokes; he smoaked out two pipes of the best Virginia, and he went to bed. A fit of apoplexy came on suddenly in the night; and—Grubs never more awoke.

The cots, therefore, and the village mill continue as they were, and the peasantry live on as they were wont: whilst old Grubs, *who was worth at least a plumb*, rots in the village church-yard, and his name is forgotten upon 'Change.

[*To be continued.*]

BIOGRAPHY OF BUONAPARTE.

NAPOLEONE BUONAPARTE was born in the town of *Ajaccio* in *Corsica*, 1767; the son of *Charles Buonaparte* and *Lætitia Raniolini*.

His father, who was also a native of *Ajaccio*, was bred to the civil law at *Rome*, and took part with the celebrated *Paoli*, in the ever memorable struggle made by a handful of brave islanders, against the tyrannical efforts of *Louis* XV. and the Machiavelian schemes of his minister *Choiseul*. Upon the testimony of a near relation, he not only laid aside the *gown* upon this occasion, but actually carried a musket as a private centinel!

On the conquest of the island he wished to retire with the gallant chieftain who had so nobly struggled for its independence; but he was prevented by his uncle, a canon who exercised a parental authority over him.

In 1773, a deputation from the three estates was sent to wait on the King of *France*; and on this occasion, Charles Buonaparte was selected to represent the nobles. He was soon after promoted to the office of *procuratore reale* of Ajaccio, where his ancestors, supposed to have been originally from Tuscany, had been settled nearly two hundred years.

The family of the elder Buonaparte was numerous, for he had seven children—four sons and three daughters. It was his good fortune, however, to be cherished by the French; and both he and his family lived in the greatest intimacy with M. de Marbœuf, the governor. On the death of his father, M. de Marbœuf continued to patronize his family, and placed his second son, Napoleone, at the military academy.

The advantages resulting from this seminary, which has produced more great men than any other in Europe, were not lost on young Buonaparte. He there applied himself with equal assiduity and address to mathematics, and studied the art of war as a regular science. Born in the midst of a republican struggle in his native land, it was his good fortune to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice shook off the chains with which she had been manacled for centuries. There was also something in his manners and habits that announced him equal to the situation for which he seems to have been destined; instead of imitating the frivolity of the age, his mind was continually occupied by useful studies; and from the lives

of

of Plutarch, a volume of which he always caried in his pocket, he learned at an early age to copy the manners and emulate the actions of antiquity. With this diſpoſition, it is but little wonder that he ſhould have dedicated his life to the profeſſion of arms. We accordingly find him, while yet a boy, preſenting himſelf a candidate for a commiſſion in the artillery; he proved ſucceſsful in the competition, became a lieutenant in the French army, and ſerved as ſuch during two or three years, in the regiment of *La Fere*.

On the ſecond expedition againſt Sardinia, having attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of a corps of Corſican national guards, he embarked with his countrymen, and landed in the little iſland of Maddalena, which he took poſſeſſion of in the name of the French Republic; but finding the troops that had been got together for this expedition neither poſſeſſed organization nor diſcipline, he returned to the port of Ajaccio, from whence he had ſet out. In the mean time a ſcheme was formed for the annexation of Corſica to the crown of England. Buonaparte had a difficult part to act on this occaſion; he was perſonally attached to *Paoli*; he reſented the treatment he experienced during the reign of the terroriſts, and had actually drawn up, with his own hand, a remonſtrance, tranſmitted by the municipality of Ajaccio, againſt the decree declaring the General an enemy to the commonwealth. Indeed, he was ſuppoſed to be ſo intimately connected with him, that a warrant was actually iſſued by the commiſſioners of the convention, to arreſt young Buonaparte! Nevertheleſs, he was determined to remain faithful to his engagements, and learning that the Engliſh fleet had ſailed for the purpoſe of ſeizing his native iſland, he embarked with his family for the continent, and ſettled within 18 leagues from Toulon. That town had juſt been delivered up to the Engliſh Admiral, Lord Hood. The military talents of the young Corſican were well known to Salicetti, who introduced him to Barras, to whom he gave indubitable proof of the ſincerity of his profeſſions, at a period when ſuſpicion was juſtified by the moſt ſerious and frequent defections. He was accordingly advanced to the rank of General of artillery; and directed under Dugomier the attacks of the various redoubts, that ſurrounded and ſtrengthened this important port. It is needleſs to add, that the iſſue of theſe operations was a ſpeedy reſtoration of the key of the Mediterranean to France.

The conqueſt of Toulon contributed not a little to raiſe the reputation of Buonaparte; and proved equally advantageous to his friend Barras. That deputy had alſo been bred a military man, and was employed by his colleagues on all great occaſions. One of theſe ſoon occurred; this was the commotion amongſt the ſections of Paris, known by the name of *inſurrection of Vendemaire*. On this occaſion, he took care to be ſurrounded by able men; luckily for the convention, one of theſe was Gen. Buonaparte, and it was to the maſterly diſpoſitions made by him, that the triumph of the repreſentative body was principally aſcribed. A nobler field now opened for his exertions.

In

In the ſpring of 1796, he was inveſted with the chief command of the army of Italy; and the unparallelled events which have ſince marked the progreſs of this extraordinary man, have been widely trumpeted by fame.

As to his perſon, Buonaparte is of ſmall ſtature, but admirably proportioned. He is of a ſpare habit of body, yet robuſt, and calculated to undergo the greateſt fatigues. In reſpect to his mind, he poſſeſſes uncommon attainments. He converſes freely, and without pedantry, on all ſubjects, and writes and ſpeaks with fluency and eloquence. Above all things, he has attempted, and in a great meaſure obtained, the maſtery over his paſſions. He is abſtemious at his meals, and was never ſeen in the ſlighteſt degree intoxicated. He poſſeſſes many friends, but has no minions, and preſerves an inviolable ſecrecy, by means of a rigorous ſilence, far better than other men do by a loquacious hypocriſy. From recent events he ſeems to take a principal part in the laſt act of the political drama of the 18th century—and whether he will prove the Cromwell or Waſhington of his country, time will ſoon develop.

The man, however, of whom it has been ſaid, "his miſtreſs was the Commonwealth, and his companion Plutarch," ſhould not heſitate to prefer a *civic* to a *kingly crown*.

CROMWELL AND BUONAPARTE.

ALMOST all the papers have compared the conduct of Buonaparte, in diſſolving the Councils by an armed force, to the conduct of Cromwell, in diſſolving the Long Parliament, and to the action of Colonel Pride, known by the name of *Pride's Purge*. The following relation of thoſe events will enable our readers to make the compariſon themſelves, and to form their own opinion. There is this difference, that Buonaparte was forced at firſt to quit the Council of Five Hundred, and that he was not preſent when the Members were driven out of the Houſe.—Cromwell was.

CROMWELL.

CROMWELL, in a rage, haſtened to the Houſe, and carried a body of 300 ſoldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, ſome in the lobby, ſome on the ſtairs. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears beſought the Lord not to impoſe upon him; but there was a neceſſity, in order

BUONAPARTE.

A NOISE was heard. The looks of the Deputies were directed to the door. Buonaparte entered the Houſe. Four grenadiers followed him. Some general officers appeared at the door.

The Aſſembly roſe up.

Several members—"What does this mean? Swords here? Armed men!"

Buonaparte was ſurrounded by the members, who held him by the collar, and drove him back.

CROMWELL.

to the glory of God and the good of the nation. He ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Hariſon, and told him that he now judged the Parliament ripe for a diſſolution. Sir, ſaid Harriſon, the work is very great, and dangerous; I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider before you engage in it. You ſay well, replied the General, and therefore ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, This is the time, I muſt do it; and ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the Parliament with the vileſt reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public; then ſtamping with his foot, which was a ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter: For ſhame, ſaid he to the Parliament, get you gone, give place to honeſter men, to thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. You are no longer a Parliament, I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament, the Lord has done with you. He has choſen other inſtruments for carrying on his work. Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt the proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane: the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane! Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, thou art a whoremaſter, ſaid he; to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard and a glutton; and thou an extortioner, to a fourth. He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. What ſhall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away; it is you, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the Houſe, that have forced me upon

BUONAPARTE.

General Lefebvre and ſeveral grenadiers entered precipitately, and the grenadiers cried out, "Save our General."—Buonaparte quitted the Hall.

Buonaparte in the Council of Ancients—"I ſay you violated the Conſtitution on the 18th Fructidor; you violated it on the 22d Floreal; you violated it on the 30th Prairial. The Conſtitution is invoked by all factions, violated by all, deſpiſed by all."

In the Council of Five Hundred, after the departure of Buonaparte, a motion was made to declare the ſittings permanent.

The queſtion was about to be put, when the *pas de charge* was heard. A corps of grenadiers appeared at the doors. A chief of a brigade of cavalry, raiſing his voice, "Citizens Repreſentatives, I invite you to retire."

Some of the member began to remonſtrate.

An officer of the grenadiers immediately went to the Preſident's ſeat—"I ſay," he cried out, "Repreſentatives of the people, retire; the General orders it."

The tumult continued. The officer ordered the ſoldiers to advance. He then commanded them to clear the Hall, which was done immediately. He went out laſt himſelf, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to the General's head-quarters.

In the evening, when the remains of the Council of Five Hundred met, for the laſt time, ſixty-one members were excluded; and none were preſent but members devoted to the new order of things.

CROMWELL.

this; I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this work.—Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the Hall, he himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

On the ſucceeding day, when the Commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the Houſe with two regiments, and directed by Lord Grey of Groby, he ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the Preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room, which paſſed by the appellation of hell, whence they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. Above one hundred and ſixty members more were excluded, and none were allowed to enter, but the moſt furious and the moſt determined of the Independents, and theſe exceeded not the number of fifty or ſixty.—This invaſion of the Parliament commonly paſſed under the name of Colonel Pride's Purge.

BUONAPARTE.

Buonaparte is now engaged with the Abbe Sieyes and Ducos, in forming a *new* conſtitution for the agitated republic; which, it is promiſed, ſhall be leſs liable to corruptibility and deſtruction than the preceding ones; we have already preſented the public with the preſumed ſkeleton of this new order of government, which will neceſſarily undergo ſome changes and modifications, before it can be brought to act vigorouſly and with univerſal effect. As to the preciſe end it will anſwer, no one can define it; but there is ſomething ſo extraordinary, connected with the fame of this intrepid man, that none ſhould be much ſurpriſed, at any event, that originates in his capacity. The moſt indubitable proof of his importance, is, that the friends of deſpotiſm in every nation, labour inceſſantly to reduce his glory.

THE EAGLE. No. V.

PECULIAR GENIUS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.

FOREIGNERS, in their partial and haſty ſurvey of American literature have conducted much like the mariner, who takes a view of a country from his veſſel, that paſſes its diſtant ſhores. If a lofty mountain ſtrikes his eye, it is minutely noted in his journal, while the luxuriant valley, and variegated landſcape, the modeſt pride of nature, lie beyond his ken, and ſcarcely occur to his imagination.

They do not reflect, that by the conſtitution of our republic of letters, it is ordained, that learning ſhall be acquired for the mutual advantage of the millions living; not for the ideal benefit of a few, who would bury themſelves in "learned lore" their whole lives, to acquire an immortality of fame, after they are dead. Not diſcovering conſpicuous monuments of ſcience among us, they have never thought of looking for its rich productions, in the humble vale of the ordinary walks of life, where

where the fertility of genius, and the numerous ſtreams of uſeful knowledge, unite to produce the copious harveſt of our praiſe, the unfading laurels of our literary fame.

The American, who knows how to appreciate the privileges which he enjoys, and to which his poſterity are the fortunate heirs, will ſurvey with pride and pleaſure, the eaſy means of acquiring information, and the numerous inſtitutions for ſpreading uſeful knowledge among us. While he ſees the whole tending to the point of *utility*, he will prize theſe living monuments of his country's fame far above the ſplendid names of the profound philoſophers, abſtruſe metaphyſicians, and enchanting poets, of elder nations, who have ſpent their lives in laborious idleneſs; bewildered or amuſed, rather than enriched the minds of mankind, and ornamented their countries only by the garlands which a falſe admiration has planted round their tombs.

Here the curious artiſt does not labour the breathing ſtature into uſeleſs exiſtence, but almoſt every citizen is provided with, at leaſt, a convenient habitation by the more uſeful mechanic. We cannot boaſt our models of perfection in the imitative arts. We are employed in improving nature by the hand of induſtry, rather than imitating her with the chiſel and bruſh. Here we have produced a ſpecimen, indicative of the character of Americans, and commanding the admiration of the world. Not a landſcape in perſpective, the mere map of a country. We have actually changed the dreary wilds of an extenſive continent, to populous towns and flouriſhing hamlets, peopled by independent freemen, who attend to the cultivation of the mind, as well as that of the ſoil they inherit.

If we examine this immenſe ſcene more minutely, we ſhall find that our literature, though not attracting admiration by its *ſplendor*, is entitled to praiſe for its *uſefulneſs*, and that we are not indebted to flattery or vanity for the name of "an enlightened people." Over the extenſive ſurface of the United States, eſpecially in *New England*, we ſhall ſcarcely find a town or village without a private or public ſchool, for the inſtruction of youth; and a number of young men who are capable of teaching it. Which has not a perſon capable of aſcertaining the meaſure, and drawing the plan of his neighbour's farm, reſpectable yeoman, qualified for the adminiſtration of juſtice, a well informed inſtructor in religion and morals? or which has a family, without ſome one able to read the oracles of revelation, and the laws of his country?

And foreigners, who are acquainted with this country, I believe will be ready to allow, that our ſea-ports produce as large a portion of ready accountants, of men, who are acquainted with the theory and practice of commerce and navigation, as the moſt opulent and refined cities of Europe.

If we carry our examination to the higher departments of ſcience, we ſhall find, that where our intereſt, or the particular circumſtances of our country have required, original publications have been produced, which have been ſtamped with the character of *utility*, and done honor to the literary character of America. Among theſe may be reckoned the political

reſearches

reſearches of our revered *Preſident*, ſo happily calculated to illuſtrate and guard the rights and happineſs of our countrymen; the able and impartial Hiſtorians of our ſeveral States; the correct and uſeful Geography, and Gazetteer of a *Morſe*, and numerous productions of leſs note, but happy in their plan and execution. And perhaps I may venture to add, that at the dawn of our revolution, in our infancy in letters, that our arms would never have been ſucceſsful, without the powerful aſſiſtance they received from the ſpirited effuſions of the pen.

Poetry.

A NATIONAL DIRGE,

Written at the Requeſt of the Mechanic Aſſociation of Boſton, *by* ANTHONY PASQUIN, *and executed by the Citizens, at the Old South Meeting Houſe, on the 22d of February, being the Day of National Sorrow, as appointed by the Government on the event of the Death of the late* GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON: *it was ſet to muſic by Mr.* OLIVER HOLDEN.

SOLEMN RECITATIVE.

LO! ſorrow reigneth, and the nation mourns; for the Lord God of Iſrael hath taken away the Councillor, the Mighty Man, the Man of War. But the Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

AIR.

Parent of Mercy, Lord benign,
Who ſits on high enthron'd;
Who gives the beam of day to ſhine;
Whoſe mandates nature own'd:
Who fills the ſickening roſe with vivid dew,
And fix'd the cauſe from whence exiſtence grew;
Look down upon a nation's woe.
Forbid the ſtreams of miſery to flow.

RECITATIVE.

He temper'd the energies of Roman Virtue with the forbearance of the *Chriſtian ſpirit*; and will remain to poſterity an illuſtrious example; the theme of praiſe and mortal admiration.

CHORAL RESPONSE.

He broke the fetters of the land;
He taught us to be free;
He rais'd the dignity of man,
He bade a Nation be.

RECITATIVE.

In a criſis of dark and unexampled peril, when anarchy had enfeebled reaſon, he had the power and conſtancy to preſerve the Commonwealth from the imminent deſolation.

AIR.

Sedition, who had madd'ning reign'd,
Ere he the foaming fiend enchain'd,
Now burſting from his iron cave,
Will ſtalk again as Ruin's ſlave: Untwine

Untwine the ſerpent from his hair
To wander as a ſocial ſnare;
Thus Guilt will wound his own repoſe!
Thus Folly doubts the good he knows!

RECITATIVE.

Elevated by the conqueſt of himſelf, he was ſuperior to vanity. His feeling was honour, and his thought wiſdom. In bleſſing others, he was amply bleſt. He fear'd to do wrong, but he knew no other fear.

DUET.

Nor Syrian perfume, nor the regal gem,
Nor Beauty's potency, nor Valor's might,
Can abrogate the deſtiny of man;
Or ſtay the mantle of oblivious night.
The noble, and the impotent of ſoul,
Adown the ebbleſs, ceaſeleſs current flow;
'Tis ours to brighten life's illuſive guile,
And make our virtue mitigate our woe.

RECITATIVE.

His *laurels* as a *conqueror* were ſpotleſs, and his code of legiſlation perfect. He conſecrated the *federal compact* upon the altar of *Juſtice*; his life evinced the glory of *Humanity*; his end diſplayed the *bliſs* of *reſignation*; releaſed from mortal care he's now aſcended to the *heaven* of *heavens*.

A BACHELOR's PRAYER.

BY ANTHONY PASQUIN.

Non ſum qualis eram bonæ ſub regno Cynaræ. Hor. Ode 1. Ad Venerem.

WHAT is a Bachelor?—a thing,
A non-deſcript without a ſting;
A pipe unfill'd with Joy's mundungus,
A mule—a manakin—a fungus;
A ſterile rock or ſeedleſs graſs,
A ruſty key—a nought—an aſs;
I'll have a *Cv*, if I can get her,
Who would be thus, who could be better?
I'm full of gout, or bile, or grief;
Faith I'll turn o'er another leaf:
As Nature's ebb'd to half my term,
I'll take a partner in the firm;
The cunning, in their cautious will,
Would, with a prop, deſcend the hill;
I've paſs'd the *rubicon* of wealth;
I've topp'd the height of manly health;
And, as I gaze adown the ſteep,
I ſee the human phantoms creep:
The lame—the peſtilent—the blind,
And I'm not many leagues behind;
Odſniggins, what a truth to know,
The more we are, the more's our woe!
Squeeze the ripe cluſters in my glaſs,
I'll drown the thought, and hail my laſs:
I'll inundate my bane in wine,
No ſtatute bids the heart repine;
We'll circle Hope and ſcorn to ſtir,
Deſpair's at beſt, a ſniv'lling cur;
Though *Bergen's* poor, and *Newport's* gariſh,
There's happineſs in every pariſh;
I'll have a ſpic'd *bonne bouche* to eat;
I want ſome pickles to my meat;
Time gnaws me (ah that I could nooſe him)
While I, a blockhead, but abuſe him!
The tyrant ſcuds, like *Dian's* hounds,
But even as he runs, he wounds:
He mars my vitals—ſpoils my geer,
Yet ſtill my motto's NEVER FEAR;
Thoſe hours we waſte, for Love deſign'd,
Proclaims the folly of our kind;
What are we at? The deuce is in it,
That either ſex ſhould ſlip a minute;
The orbs of beauty loſe their rays,
And man, imperial man, decays!
I'll quit theſe temples, which we ſin in,
I want a Dame to darn my linen:
To read the Bible; warm my ſlops;
Tuck up the bed and broil my chops:
Lead me from error, like a fairy,
And ſkim the cream, in Paſſions dairy:
To ſhare the nectar of my bowl,
And ſmooth the angles of my ſoul:
'Tis woman, lovely woman, gives,

The

The zeſt to him who truly lives :
Though Cynics ſatirize and flout 'em,
By Jove we cannot do without 'em;
Now *Joans* and *Zantippes* are rare,
Women are better than they were !
That is if they've been bad at all,
Which yet is problematical ;
And infant States, the *Magi* ſay,
Exact new ſhoots as trees decay ;
Should nymphs live ſpinſters, like old *Cito*,
Pray who will people the *Obio ?*
I'll have my fill of nuptial pleaſure,
Honor and arms demand the meaſure !
Where ſhall I meet the roſy maid ?
I'll ſeek *Circaſſia's* ſpicy glade ;
Or *Leſbian* bow'r or Greek alcove ;
Or *Cnidus'* amaranthine grove ;
The Sophis' blazoning *Serail* ;
The *Paphian* grot or Egypt's vale :
Or *Tempe*, where the Sylvans dwell,
But zounds, *New-York* will do as well !
Marry, ſays Impulſe, tell me Hymen,
For you're accuſtom'd long to try men;
How I ſhall chooſe a loving wife,
Who'd fan the breezes of my life ;
We all are vain and frail ; yet each
Affects the other ſex to teach ;
Though Folly counteracts th' opinion,
Yet men and women love dominion :
The difference 'tween 'em (I'll maintain it)
Is only how they each may gain it :
Direct me, genial God, to woo,
But recollect—I'm forty-two ;
Advance, ſaid Cupid, on with brav'ry,
But he's a rogue and full of knav'ry,
I think his agency not wiſe,
Beſides the boy has loſt his eyes—
There's *Kate* and *Delia*, *Bell* and *Beſs*,
Would take a ſnack at Rapture's meſs;
A relict too, both ſleek and kind,
Pregnant with ſweets as either *Ind:*
Theſe huſſies play about my ſtation,
And heat my dull imagination ;
Eliza's fluſh'd with youth and beauty,
But who can tell her map of duty ;
Codgers inveigle nymphs too late,
Then blame thoſe faults themſelves, create !
Your moraliſts may preach and tire,
But cannot damp the boſom's fire :
And he's a varlet, who'll pretend,
To ſeparate the cauſe and end—
Bella's a nymph whoſe radiant charms,
Would draw the Thund'rer to her arms:
She trips, as *Atalanta* gay ;
She warbles like the Siren's lay :
But ever ogling, nodding, gadding,
And that in wedlock, ſets us madding;
Her coquetry's made many ſick,
She broke the heart of honeſt *Dick !*
I muſt not venture there, becauſe,
The Gypſy's flurr'd Diſcretion's laws—
The pretty *Dowager*, they ſay,
Breathes odours like the florid May ;
Her hazel orbs announce new bliſſes ;
Her pulpy lips are wet with kiſſes,
She ſmacks their ruby dew, and ſeems,
To reliſh Mem'ry's brilliant dreams:
She calls on men for Love's devotion,
And all her atoms are in motion ;
She's got a farm and land, I hear,
Beſides three hundred pounds a year :
Some oxen too, in wild *Kentucky ;*
But horns, in marriage, are unlucky:
She's plump and buxom, rich and glowing,
But then your widows are ſo knowing,
They'll have the payment, when they've ſaid it,
Young traders, take a bill on credit !—
Kitty has wit, but what of that,
I'll have no witty wife, that's flat :
I have but little Heaven knows,
And ee'n that little's made me foes!—
Delia, ah Delia, ſhe's my choice,
When ſhe appears the lads rejoice ;
She does not pout, becauſe ſhe knows,
It lays the germ of unborn woes :
She views Life, as an April day,
Thats' partly ſtormy, partly gay !
And when ſhe gets a ſweet ingredient,
Will make the moſt of joys expedient:
Delia's good humour'd, ev'n when warm,
Good humour rides out many a ſtorm ;
Should care aſſail in ruin's garb,
She'd ſearch my ſoul and draw the barb:
To peace ſhe dedicates her youth ;
Her faith to God—her love to truth:
Infuſes balm to the diſtreſt
And is divine, and pure and bleſt ;
Now ſocial charity is blind,
I'll leave this burning world behind,
To Policy I give her imps,
That vile, perturbed Haggard limps:
In ſhades to *Delia*, I'll incline,
Be comfort and the muſes mine ;
Bring me the Zone from *Nepthe's* ſide,
Sweet *Hebe's* veſt—the *Perſian's* pride ;
The lucid gem—the ſapphire plume ;
A mantle from the *Tyrian* loom,
Yet this is frivolous and vain,
Delia's moſt charming when moſt plain.
Too good to hate, or to be hated,
'Tis piteous ſuch a girl's not mated :
Hither then Hymen, with your *ſuite*,
I'll lay my fortunes at her feet ;
I'll have her (tell the gods) with glee,
That's *entre nous* if ſhe'll have me !

NEW-YORK, April 1ſt, 1799.

AMERICA IN MOURNING.

NOW lies immur'd in Vernon's lonely vault,
The beſt of men, who e'er adorn'd his race;
A human form, with ſcarce a human fault,
Combining paſſions pure, with manly grace.

Low is his head, but high his glories riſe;
Reſplendent beams concentrate round his urn;
His brilliant conqueſts echo through the ſkies;
His lamp of fame ſhall never ceaſe to burn.

Though dead—he lives in every grateful heart,
And newborn laurels wave around his tomb;
A nation's honors, ſighs, and tears impart,
Their praiſe to worth, of ſuch unfading bloom.

All are his due—for many a year he ſtrove,
From baſe oppreſſion's yoke to gain releaſe;
Inſpir'd by juſtice, and his country's love,
He fought her battles, and attain'd her peace.

At length to private life the ſage retires,
Where nought but virtue e'er alone could come;
And there enjoy'd unceaſing, pure deſires,
Till Heaven recall'd him to his native home.

When angels bore him through the ſtarry ſkies,
All nature, drooping, teſtified our pain;
The ſaints rejoic'd, while tears bedew'd our eyes;—
The loſs was OURS—but HIS is all the gain.

LINES,

Written by an old Planter, in the country, to his daughter, who having gone in her plain country dreſs to reſide in the city, returned after ſome months tricked off in all the gaudy attire of the gay world.

HOW, PHEBE, can I elſe but ſnarl,
When you, who went a country girl,
In habit frugal, neat and plain,
That might attract ſome rural ſwain;
Who never dreamt of ſilk or lawn,
Nor rov'd beyond our county town;
I ſay, how could you thus return
A Holland Doll?—Who did adorn
Your head in this prodigious dreſs,
Of foreign gewgaws, and not leſs
Than live-oak tops on yonder bluff,
A mountain of fantaſtic ſtuff?
Now, by flirtation's ſelf, I ſwear,
You muſt your old apparel wear;
Thoſe glitt'ring follies lay aſide,
That feed at once your ſloth and pride,
Put on again your home-ſpun geer,
And drop thoſe pound-weights from your ear;
As well might vanities like thoſe
Be ſeen ſuſpended from your noſe.
You ſhall not wear Morocco caps—
For idle beaus they may be traps;
But, though acquired at high expenſe,
Will never catch a man of ſenſe.
What fops will now beſiege my door
Attracted by that Dry Goods Store,
In every form which cut and hack'd,
Is to your idle carcaſs tack'd;
But let them fear the vengeance due
To all I catch in queſt of you;
Of ſuch gay birds you may be vain,
But mind—I tell you—*there's my cane.*
Far hence from us be China's w[illegible],
Or India ſhawls of camel's hair:
Theſe quiltings, quilted at Marſeilles,
And ſilver'd ſhoes, and color'd veils;
I execrate all traſh like that,
Nor ſhall you wear *Suwarrow's* hat.
Theſe muſlins, ſatins, muſlinet,
God knows, have brought a ſerious debt;
You PHEBE, do not count the coſt
Of time miſ-ſpent, and labour loſt;
You may indulge your modiſh tricks,
But I'm no fool at fifty-ſix;
Theſe ribbands, edgings and galloons,
Will make me ſing ſome diſmal tunes,
Will force me when the *bill* is read,
To bite my nails and ſcratch my head,
If PHEBE does not for me feel,
And turn again the ſpinning-wheel.

Important European Intelligence.

[The ſhip Supply, arrived at New-York, from Liverpool, has brought but little news; but this is compenſated by the communication of an official copy of the New Conſtitution of France: this important Inſtrument will be read with attention and profit.]

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

[AN OFFICIAL COPY.]

CHAP. I.

ART. 1. THE French Republic is one and indiviſible.

Its European territory is diſtributed into departments and communal diſtricts.

2. Every man born and reſident in France, and of the age of 21 years, who has inſcribed his name in the civic regiſter of his communal diſtrict, and afterwards remained a year on the territory of the French Republic, is a French citizen.

3. A foreigner becomes a French citizen, who after having attained the age of 21 years, and declared his intention of fixing his reſidence in France, has reſided there for 10 ſucceſſive years.

4. The title of French citizen is forfeited—

By naturalization in a foreign country.

By accepting any office or penſion from a foreign government.

By affiliation with any foreign corporation which ſuppoſes diſtinctions of birth.

By condemnation to corporal or infamous puniſhments.

5. The exerciſe of the rights of a French citizen is ſuſpended by a bankruptcy or by a total or partial ſucceſſion to the property of an inſolvent.

By a ſtate of hired ſervitude, either attached to the ſervice of the perſon or the family.

By a ſtate of judicial interdiction, accuſation or contumacy.

6. In order to exerciſe the rights of citizenſhip they muſt have been acquitted by being domiciliated by a year's reſidence, and not forfeited by a year's abſence.

7. The citizens of every communal diſtrict ſhall appoint by their ſuffrages thoſe whom they think moſt worthy of conducting the public affairs. There ſhall be a liſt of confidence, containing a number of names equal to a tenth of the number of citizens poſſeſſing the right of ſuffrage. From this firſt communal liſt the public functionaries of diſtricts ſhall be taken.

8. The citizens compriſed in the communal liſts of a department ſhall alſo appoint a tenth of their number. Theſe ſhall conſtitute a ſecond liſt called the department liſt, from which the public functionaries of each department ſhall be taken.

9. The citizens included in the departmental liſt ſhall alſo appoint a tenth of their number; this 3d liſt ſhall conſiſt of the citizens of each department, eligible to public national functions.

10. The citizens who ſhall have a right of co-operating in the formation of any of the liſts mentioned in the three preceding articles, ſhall every third year be called upon to exerciſe the power of replacing thoſe who ſhall have died, or abſented themſelves for any other cauſe than the exerciſe of a public function.

11. They may alſo withdraw from the liſt thoſe whom they ſhall not jndge proper to continue, and replace them by other citizens in whom they may have greater confidence.

12. No one ſhall be eraſed from the liſts, otherwiſe than by the votes of the deciſive majority of the citizens, having the right of co-operating in their formation.

13. No one ſhall be eraſed from the liſt of thoſe eligible to public national functions merely becauſe his name may have been ſtruck out of a liſt of an inferior or ſuperior degree.

14. The appointment to the liſt of eligibles

eligibles is only neceſſary with regard to public functions, for which that condition is expreſsly required by the conſtitution or by the law. All the liſts of the eligibles ſhall be formed in the courſe of the 9th year.

CHAP. II.

15. The conſervatory ſenate ſhall be compoſed of 80 members, of 40 years of age at leaſt, to be irremovable during life.

For the formation of the ſenate, there ſhall be nominated in the firſt inſtance 60 members—this number ſhall be increaſed to 62 in the courſe of the 8th year, to 64 in the 9th year, and ſhall be gradually increaſed to 70 by the addition of two members in each of the ten firſt years.

16. The nomination to the office of ſenate ſhall be by the ſenate, who ſhall make choice out of theſe candidates preſented to them; the firſt by the legiſlative body, the ſecond by the tribunate and the third by the chief conſul.

17. The chief conſul, upon quitting his office, either by the expiration of his functions, or by reſignation, neceſſarily, and as a matter of right, becomes a ſenator.

The two other conſuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take their ſeats in the ſenate, but are not obliged to exerciſe that privilege.

They loſe it altogether, if they quit their conſular functions by reſignation.

18. A ſenator is always ineligible to any other public functions.

19. All the liſts made in the departments, by virtue of the 9th article, ſhall be addreſſed to the ſenate. They ſhall compoſe the national liſt.

20. From this liſt ſhall be elected the legiſlators, the tribunes, the conſuls, the judges of caſſation, and the *Commiſſaries à la Reſponſibilité.*

21. They ſhall confirm or annul every act referred to them as unconſtitutional by their tribunate, or the government; the liſts of the eligibles ſhall be included among theſe acts.

22. The revenues of national domains, the terms of which are expired, ſhall be liable to the expenſes of the ſenate. The annual ſalary of each of its members ſhall be paid out of thoſe revenues. It ſhall be equal to a 20th of that of the chief conſul.

23. The ſittings of the ſenate are not public.

24. Citizen Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the two conſuls who are to go out of office, ſhall be nominated members of the conſervatory ſenate; they ſhall unite with the ſecond and third conſuls nominated by the preſent one. Theſe four citizens ſhall appoint the majority of the ſenate, which ſhall afterwards complete itſelf, and proceed to the elections intruſted to its direction.

CHAP. III.

Of the Legiſlative Power.

25. No new law ſhall be promulgated, unleſs the plan ſhall have been propoſed by the government, communicated to the tribune, and decreed by the legiſlative body.

26. The plan which the government may propoſe ſhall be drawn up under the different heads. In every caſe in which ſuch plans ſhall be diſcuſſed, the government may withdraw them, and preſent them again in a modified ſtate.

27. The tribunate is to be compoſed of 100 members of 25 years of age at leaſt; they ſhall be renewed by fifths every year, and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national liſt.

28. The tribunate ſhall diſcuſs the plans of every law that may be propoſed; it ſhall vote for the adoption or rejection of them.

It ſhall ſend three orators taken from its body, by whom the motives of its vote, with reſpect to each of the plans, ſhall be ſtated and ſupported before the legiſlative body.

It ſhall refer to the ſenate, but for the cauſe of inconſtitutionality only, the liſt of the eligibles, the acts of the legiſlative body, and thoſe of the government.

29. It ſhall expreſs its opinion as to the laws made or to be made, the abuſes to be corrected, the ameliorations to be attempted, in every part of the public adminiſtration, but never relative to the civil or criminal affairs referred to the tribunal.

The opinions it ſhall give, by virtue of the preſent article, are to be followed by no neceſſary conſequences; they

they compel no conſtituted authority to come to any deliberation.

30. When the tribunate adjourns, it may appoint a committee from ten to fifteen members, charged to convoke it, if it ſhall be deemed neceſſary.

31. The legiſlative body ſhall be compoſed of 300 members, of 30 years of age at leaſt ;—they ſhall be renewed by fifths every year.—There ought always to be one citizen, at leaſt, of each department of the republic preſent.

32. A member who goes out of the legiſlative body cannot re-enter till after the interval of a year—but he may be immediately elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, provided he is in other reſpects eligible.

33. The ſitting of the legiſlative body ſhall commence every year on the firſt Frimaire, and ſhall continue only four months—it may be extraordinarily convoked during the other eight by the government.

34. The legiſlative body enacts the law by determining by ſecret ſcrutiny, and without any diſcuſſion on the part of its members, upon the plans of the law debated before it, by the orators of the tribunate and the government.

35. The ſittings of the tribunate and of the legiſlative body, ſhall be public; the number of ſtrangers in either of them not to exceed 200.

36. The annual ſalary of a tribune ſhall be 15,000 francs, that of a legiſlative 10,000 francs.

37. Every decree of the legiſlative body ſhall, the 10th day after it be made, be promulgated by the chief conſul, unleſs in the mean time it is referred to the ſenate, on the ground of inconſtitutionality. Such reference cannot be made with regard to the laws that have been promulgated.

38. The firſt renewal of the legiſlative body and of the tribunate ſhall not take place till the 10th year.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Government.

39. The government is intruſted to three conſuls appointed for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible. Each of them is to be elected individually with the diſtinct quality of chief, ſecond, or third conſul. The firſt time the third conſul ſhall only be named for five years.

For the preſent time General Buonaparte is appointed chief conſul: Citizen Cambaſeres, now miniſter of juſtice, ſecond conſul ; and Citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of ancients, third conſul.

40. The chief conſul has particular functions, and attributes, which, when he is exerciſing, he may be temporarily ſupplied by one of his colleagues.

41. The chief conſul is to promulgate the laws ; he is to name and revoke at pleaſure the members of the council of ſtate ; the miniſters, ambaſſadors, and other principal foreign agents, the officers of the army by land and ſea, the members of local adminiſtration and the commiſſioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges criminal and civil, as well as juſtices of the peace, and the judges of caſſation, without the power of afterwards revoking them.

42. In the other acts of the government, the ſecond and third conſuls are to have a conſummative voice ; they are to ſign the regiſter of the acts, in order to manifeſt that they were preſent, and if they pleaſe, they may counterſign their opinions ; after which the determination of the chief conſul ſhall follow.

43. The ſalary of the chief conſul ſhall be 500,000 francs, for the 8th year. The ſalary of the other two conſuls ſhall be equal to three tenths of that of the firſt.

44. The government is to propoſe the laws, and to make the neceſſary regulations to inſure their execution.

45. The government is to direct the receipts and expenſes of the ſtate, conformable to the annual law, which determines the amount of each ; it ſhall ſuperintend the coinage of money, of which the law alone ſhall order the iſſue, fix the value, the weight, and the impreſſion.

46. When the government is informed of any conſpiracies againſt the ſtate, it may iſſue orders to arreſt and bring before them the perſons who are ſuſpected as the authors or accomplices ; but if within ten days after ſuch arreſt, they are not ſet at liberty or brought to trial, it ſhall be conſidered, on the part of the miniſter ſigning the order, as an act of arbitrary detention.

47. The government is to ſuper-

ten-

tend the internal ſafety and external defence of the ſtate; it is to diſtribute the forces by ſea and land, and regulate the direction of them.

48. The national guard on duty is ſubject to the regulations of the public adminiſtration. The national guard not on duty is only ſubject to the law.

49. The government is to manage political relations abroad, to conduct negociations, to make preliminary ſtipulations, to ſign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliances, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

50. Declarations of war and treaties of peace; alliance, and commerce, are to be propoſed, diſcuſſed decreed, and promulgated in the ſame manner as laws.

Only the diſcuſſions and deliberations relative to thoſe objects, as well in the tribunate as in the legiſlative body, are to be in a ſecret committee, if the government deſire it.

51. The ſecret article of a treaty cannot be deſtructive of the public articles.

52. Under the direction of the conſuls, the council of ſtate is charged with the drawing up of the plans of the laws and the regulations of the public adminiſtration, and to reſolve ſuch difficulties as may occur in all adminiſtrative matters.

53. It is from among the members of the council of ſtate, that the orators are to be ſelected, who ſhall be appointed to appear in the name of the government before the legiſlative body. There are never to be any more than three of theſe orators ſent to ſupport the ſame plan of a law.

54. The miniſters are to procure the execution of the laws, and the regulations of the public adminiſtration.

55. No act of the government can have effect till it is ſigned by a miniſter.

56. One of the miniſters is ſpecially charged with the adminiſtration of the public treaſury. He is to verify the receipts, direct the application of the funds, and the payments authoriſed by law, and only to the extent of the funds for defraying thoſe expenſes ſuch law has determined upon. 2dly, by a decree of the government. 3dly, by an order ſigned by a miniſter.

57. The detained accounts of every miniſter, ſigned and certified by him, are to be made public.

58. The government can only elect or retain as counſellors of ſtate or miniſters, ſuch citizens whoſe names are inſcribed in the national liſt.

59. The local adminiſtrations eſtabliſhed, whether for each communal diſtrict, or for the more extended portions of territory, are ſubordinate to the miniſters. No one can become or remain a member of theſe adminiſtrations unleſs he is entered in one of the liſts mentioned in the 7th and 8th articles.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tribunal.

60. Every communal arrondiſſement ſhall have one or more juſtices of the peace, elected immediately from the citizens, for three years.

Their principal duty conſiſts in reconciling the parties applying to them, and in caſe of nonconciliation, to decide their diſpute by arbitrators.

61. In civil matters there are tribunals of firſt inſtance and tribunals of appeal. The law determines the organization of the one and the other; their competence and territory forming the juriſdictions of each.

62. In caſes of crimes, to which are annexed a corporal or infamous puniſhment, a firſt jury admits or rejects the charge. If it be admitted, a ſecond jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges compoſing a criminal tribunal apply the puniſhment. Their judgment is without appeal.

63. The function of public accuſer to a criminal tribunal is filled by the commiſſioner of government.

64. The crimes which do not amount to corporal or infamous puniſhment are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, ſaving an appeal to the criminal tribunals.

65. There is for the whole Republic a tribunal of caſſation which pronounces on appeals againſt judgments in the dernier reſort, given by the tribunals in caſes referred from one tribunal to another on account of lawful ſuſpicion, or the public ſafety, upon exceptions taken by the party againſt the whole tribunal.

66. The tribunal of caſſation does not inquire into the merits, but it reverſes the judgment given on proceed-

ings

ings in which form is violated, or which contain ſomething contrary to the expreſſed law, but ſends the caſe back to be tried on the merits by the tribunal, which has cognizance of them.

67. The judges who conſtitute the tribunals of firſt inſtance, and the commiſſioners of government eſtabliſhed at the tribunals, are taken from the communal or departmental liſt.

The judges forming the tribunals of appeal, and the commiſſioners placed with them, are taken from the departmental liſt.

The judges compoſing the tribunal of caſſation, and the commiſſioners belonging to that tribunal, are taken from the national liſt.

68. The juſtices, except the juſtices of the peace, remain in office for life, unleſs they ſhould be condemned to forfeit their places, or ſhould not be continued on the liſt of eligibles correſponding with their functions.

CHAP. VI.

Of the reſponſibility of the Public Functionaries.

69. The functions of members, whether of the ſenate or of the legiſlative body, or of the tribunate, and alſo thoſe of the conſuls or counſellors of ſtate, do not diſcharge them from reſponſibility.

70. Perſonal crimes, to which are annexed corporal or infamous puniſhment, committed by a member either of the ſenate, tribunate, legiſlative body, or of the council of ſtate, are proſecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the perſon charged belongs, has authoriſed ſuch proſecution.

71. The miniſters arraigned, in their private capacity, of crimes to which are annexed corporal or infamous puniſhment, are conſidered as members of the council of ſtate.

72. The miniſters are reſponſible—1ſt, for every act of government ſigned by them, and declared unconſtitutional by the ſenate; 2d, for the non-execution of the laws, and of the regulations of the public adminiſtration; 3d, for the particular orders which they have given, if theſe orders are contrary to the conſtitution, the laws, and ordinances.

73. In the ſeveral caſes of the preceding article, the tribunate denounces the miniſter by an act on which the legiſlative body deliberates in ordinary form, after having heard or ſummoned the perſon denounced. The miniſter placed in a courſe of judgment is tried by a high court, without appeal or reſource, for a reverſal.

The high court is compoſed of judges and jurors. The judges are choſen by the tribunal of caſſation and from its boſom. The jurors are choſen from the national liſt; the whole according to the forms preſcribed by laws.

74. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, are proſecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of caſſation ſends them, after having annulled their acts.

75. The agents of government, other than the miniſters, cannot be proſecuted for acts relating to their functions, but by virtue of a deciſion of the council of State; in this caſe, the proſecution is carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

CHAP. VII.

General Diſpoſitions.

76. The houſe of every perſon inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable aſylum.

During the night no perſon has a right to enter it, except in caſe of fire, inundation, at the requeſt of the perſons within.

In the day one may enter it for the ſpecial purpoſe, determined either by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority.

77. In order that the act which ordains the arreſt of a perſon may be executed, it is neceſſary, 1ſt, that it expreſs in form the cauſes for ſuch arreſt, and the law in execution of which it is ordered; 2dly, that it iſſues from a functionary to whom the law has formally given that power: 3dly, that it be notified to the perſon arreſted, and a copy of it left with him.

78. No keeper or gaoler can receive or detain any perſon without having firſt tranſcribed on his regiſter the act ordering his arreſt. This act muſt be a mandate, given in the forms preſcribed by the preceding article, or a warrant for taking the body, or a decree of accuſation, or a judgment.

79. Every keeper or gaoler is bound, without any order being able

to

to diſpenſe with it, to repreſent the perſon in his cuſtody to the civil officer having the police of the houſe of detention, whenever this officer ſhall demand ſuch account.

80. A repreſentation of a perſon in cuſtody ſhall not be refuſed to his parents and friends, carrying an order from the civil officer, who ſhall be obliged always to grant it, unleſs the keeper or gaoler produces an order of a judge to keep the priſoner ſecret.

81. All thoſe who, not being veſted by the law with the power of arreſting, ſhall give, ſign, or execute the arreſt of any perſon whatever; all thoſe who, even in the caſe of arreſt authoriſed by law, ſhall receive or detain the perſon arreſted in a place of confinement not publickly and legally deſignated as ſuch; and all keepers or gaolers who ſhall act contrary to the diſpoſitions of the three preceding articles, ſhall be guilty of arbitrary detention.

82. All ſeverities uſed in arreſt, detentions, or executions, other than thoſe commanded by the laws, are crimes.

83. Every perſon has a right of addreſſing private petitions to every conſtituted authority, and particularly to the tribunate.

84. The public force is neceſſarily in a ſtate of obedience; no armed body can deliberate.

85. Military crimes are ſubjected to ſpecial tribunals, and particular forms of judgment.

86. The French nation declares, that it will grant penſions to all the the military wounded in defence of their country, and alſo to the widows and children of ſuch military as have died on the field of battle, or in conſequence of their wounds.

87. It ſhall decree national rewards to the warriors, who ſhall have rendered diſtinguiſhed ſervices in fighting for the republic.

88. A conſtituted body cannot deliberate except in a ſitting, at which two thirds of its members, at leaſt, are preſent.

89. A national inſtitute is charged with receiving diſcoveries, and perfecting the arts and ſciences.

90. A commitee of national comptabilite regulates and verifies the accounts of the receits and expenſes of the republic. This committee is compoſed of ſeven members, choſen by the ſenate from the national liſt.

91. The regime of the French colonies is determined by ſpecial laws.

92. In caſe of the revolt of an armed body, or of troubles which menace the ſafety of the ſtate, the law may ſuſpend in the places and for the time it determines, the empire of the conſtitution.

The ſuſpenſion may be proviſionally declared in the ſame caſes, by an arrete of government, the legiſlative body not being ſitting, provided this body be convened at a very ſhort term by an article of the ſame arrete.

93. The French nation declares, that in no caſe will it ſuffer the return of of the French who having abandoned their country ſince 1789, are not compriſed in the exceptions contained in the laws againſt emigrants. It interdicts every new exception on this point.

The property of emigrants irrevocably belong to the republic.

94. The French nation declares that after a ſale legally completed of national property whatever may be its origin, the lawful purchaſe cannot be diſpoſſeſſed, ſaving the right of third perſons, if ſuch there ſhould be, claiming to be indemnified out of the public treaſury.

95. The preſent conſtitution ſhall be offered forthwith for the acceptence of the French people.

Done at Paris the 22d Frimaire, (Dec. 13) in the 8th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(The ſignatures of the members of the legiſlative committees and conſuls follow.)

PARIS, DEC. 15.

The three Conſuls were named the day before yeſterday by the two commiſſioners. Buonaparte was unanimouſly appointed firſt Conſul. Cambaceres and Lebrun had each 21 votes. The Conſuls, and five perſons who are to aſſiſt them, met laſt night to appoint the Conſervators to the number of 60. Theſe 60 will elect the Tribunes and Senators. The Conſuls appoint the Miniſters and the 30 Counſellors of State.

Gen. Kilmaine is dead. The New Conſtitution

Conſtitution was publiſhed yeſterday at Paris with much pomp.

December 16. This day all the troops compoſing the 17th diviſion, aſſembled in the Camp de Mars to take the oath to the new Conſtitution.

December 18. The Conſtitution does not prevent the firſt Conſul from taking the command of the armies. Thus it is ſaid that if Buonaparte does not this winter induce Auſtria to make peace, his intention is in the ſpring to put himſelf at the head of the armies to ſign a peace in the heart of Germany.

The American Ambaſſadors, who have been appointed to negociate with France, have juſt landed at Liſbon, from whence they will proceed to Paris.

The regiſters of acceptance and non-acceptance are opened at Paris. The confluence is prodigious, and the whole of the votes almoſt are in favour of the new Conſtitution.

December 20. It has been inſinuated that the regiſters will one day ſerve for liſts of proſcription; but we hear they are to be burnt as ſoon as the numbers are known.

It appears from the ſpeeches of the King of Pruſſia to Duroc, as well as from different reports from Conſtantinople, that the Porte has altogether given up Egypt.

The Helvetic Government is about to experience a change neceſſary to diſappoint projects unfavourable to the independence and unity of that republic.

Three hundred and twenty Members of the Council of Five Hundred have accepted and ſigned the new Conſtitution; which, conſidering the number of Deputies excluded, and of thoſe on miſſion, makes upwards of ſeven eights of what remains.

It is believed that the members of the Conſervative Senate hitherto elected are 31.

LONDON, JAN. 8.

[*Publiſhed by authority.*]

LETTERS from the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs in France, and from Gen. Buonaparte, and the anſwers to them by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[TRANSLATION.]

MY LORD,

I DISPATCH by order of Gen. Buonaparte, Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, a Meſſenger to London; he is the bearer of a letter from the Firſt Conſul of the Republic to his Majeſty the *King of England.* I requeſt you to give the neceſſary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This ſtep in itſelf announces the importance of its object. Accept my Lord, the aſſurance of my higheſt conſideration.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND,

Paris, the 5th Nivoſe, 8th year of the French Republic, Dec. 25, 1799.

[TRANSLATION.]

French Republic—Sovereignty of the People.

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

BUONAPARTE Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to his Majeſty the King of Great-Britain and of Ireland.

Paris, the 5th Nivoſe, 8th year of the Republic.

CALLED by the wiſhes of the French nation to occupy the Firſt Magiſtracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majeſty.

The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, muſt it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an underſtanding?

How can the two moſt enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and ſtrong beyond what their ſafety and independence require, ſacrifice to ideas of vain greatneſs, the benefits of commerce, internal proſperity, and the happineſs of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the firſt neceſſity, as well as of the firſt glory?

Theſe ſentiments cannot be foreign in the heart of your Majeſty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the ſole view of rendering it happy.

Your Majeſty will only ſee in this overture my ſincere deſire to contribute efficaciouſly, for the ſecond time, to a general pacification, by a ſtep, ſpeedy, entirely of confidence, and diſengaged from thoſe forms, which, neceſſary perhaps to diſguiſe the dependence of weak ſtates, prove only, in thoſe which are ſtrong, the mutual deſire of deceiving each other.

France

France and England, by the abuſe of their ſtrength, may ſtill for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhauſted. But I will venture to ſay it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war, which involves the whole world.

*Of your Majeſty,**

BUONAPARTE.

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* We are at a loſs to decypher the meaning of this ſentence—it is, however, agreeably to the copy.

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 4, 1800.

SIR,

I have received and laid before the King the two letters which you have tranſmitted to me; and his Majeſty, ſeeing no reaſon to depart from thoſe forms which have long been eſtabliſhed in Europe for tranſacting buſineſs with foreign States, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official anſwer which I ſend you herewith incloſed. I have the honor to be, with high conſideration, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

GRENVILLE.

To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris.

NOTE.

THE King has given frequent proofs of his ſincere deſire for the re-eſtabliſhment of ſecure and permanent tranquillity to Europe.—He neither is, nor has been engaged in any conteſt for a vain and falſe glory. He had no other view than that of maintaining, againſt all aggreſſion, the rights and happineſs of his ſubjects.

For theſe he has contended againſt an unprovoked attack; and for the ſame objects he is ſtill obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this neceſſity could be removed by entering, at the preſent moment, into negociation with thoſe whom a freſh revolution has ſo recently placed in the exerciſe of power in France—ſince no real advantage can ariſe from ſuch negociation to the great and deſirable object of General Peace, until it ſhall diſtinctly appear, that thoſe cauſes have ceaſed to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has ſince been protracted, and, in more than one inſtance, renewed.

The ſame ſyſtem, to the prevalence of which France juſtly aſcribes all her preſent miſeries, is that which has alſo involved the reſt of Europe in a long and deſtructive warfare, of a nature long ſince unknown to the practice of civilized nations.

For the extention of this ſyſtem, and for the extermination of all eſtabliſhed governments, the reſources of France have from year to year, and in the midſt of the moſt unparalleled diſtreſs, been laviſhed and exhauſted. To this indiſcriminate ſpirit of deſtruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiſs Cantons, (his majeſty's ancient friends and allies) have ſucceſſively been ſacrificed. Germany has been ravaged: Italy, though now reſcued from its invaders, has been made the ſcene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majeſty has himſelf been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthenſome conteſt for the independence and exiſtence of his kingdoms.

Nor have theſe calamities been confined to Europe alone: they have been extended to the moſt diſtant quarters of the world, and even to countries ſo remote both in ſituation and intereſts from the preſent conteſt, that the very exiſtence of ſuch a war was perhaps unknown to thoſe who found themſelves ſuddenly involved in all its horrors.

While ſuch a ſyſtem continues to prevail, and while the blood and treaſure of a numerous and powerful nation can be laviſhed in its ſupport, experience has ſhewn that no defence but that of open and ſteady hoſtility can be availing. The moſt ſolemn treaties have only prepared the way for freſh aggreſſion; and it is to a determined reſiſtance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of ſtability for property, for perſonal liberty, for ſocial order, or for the free exerciſe of religion.

For the ſecurity, therefore, of theſe eſſential objects, his majeſty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general profeſſions of pacific diſpoſitions. Such profeſſions have been repeatedly held out by all thoſe who have ſucceſſively directed the reſources of France to the deſtruction of Europe. *and whom the preſent rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.*

Greatly

Greatly, indeed, will his majeſty rejoice whenever it ſhall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and thoſe of his allies, have been ſo long expoſed, has really ceaſed: whenever he ſhall be ſatisfied that the neceſſity of reſiſtance is at an end; that after the experience of ſo many years of crimes and miſeries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the reſtleſs ſchemes of deſtruction which have endangered the very exiſtence of civil ſociety, have at length been finally relinquiſhed:—But the conviction of ſuch a change, however agreeable to his majeſty's wiſhes, can reſult only from experience, and from the evidence of facts.

The beſt and moſt natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the reſtoration of that line of princes which for ſo many centuries maintained the French nation in proſperity at home, and in conſideration and reſpect abroad: Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove all obſtacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmoleſted enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all other nations in Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that ſecurity which they are now compelled to ſeek by other means.

But, deſirable as ſuch an event muſt be, both to France and the world, it is not to this mode excluſively that his majeſty limits the poſſibility of ſecure and ſolid pacification. His majeſty makes no claim to preſcribe to France what ſhall be the form of her government, or in whoſe hands ſhe ſhall veſt the authority neceſſary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

His majeſty looks only to the ſecurity of his dominions and thoſe of his allies, and to the general ſafety of Europe. Whenever he ſhall judge that ſuch ſecurity can in any manner be attained, as reſulting either from the internal ſituation of that country, from whoſe internal ſituation the danger has riſen, or from ſuch other circumſtances of whatever nature as may produce the ſame end, his majeſty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

Unhappily no ſuch ſecurity hitherto exiſts: no ſufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reaſonable ground by which to judge of its ſtability. In this ſituation it can for the preſent only remain for his majeſty to purſue, in conjunction with other powers, thoſe exertions of juſt and defenſive war, which his regard to the happineſs of his ſubjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the neceſſity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds, than ſuch as may beſt contribute to the ſecure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their conſtitution, and their independence.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 4, 1800.

To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c. at Paris.

[Received by the ſhip *Thomas Ruſſell*, Capt. *Jackſon*, 52 days from London.]

OFFICIAL.

SECOND LETTER from the MINISTER for FOREIGN AFFAIRS, at Paris, with its accompanying incloſures; and the ANSWER returned by the Right Hon. LORD GRENVILLE, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[TRANSLATION.]

Paris, Nivoſe, 8th year, (Jan. 14, 1800.)

MY LORD,

I LOST no time in laying before the First Conſul of the Republic, the official Note, under date of the 14th Nivoſe, which you tranſmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the Anſwer, equally official, which you will find annexed. Receive, my Lord, the aſſurances of my high conſideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, at London.

TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION OF THE NOTE REFERRED TO IN NO. I.

THE official Note, under the date of the 14th Nivoſe, the 8th year, addreſſed by the Miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty, having been laid before the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, he obſerved with ſurpriſe, that it reſted upon an opinion, which is not exact, reſpecting the origin and conſequences of the preſent war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, ſhe had, it muſt be remembered, from the commencement of her Revolution, ſolemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her diſinclination to conqueſts, her reſpect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted, that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, ſhe would have avoided taking part in thoſe of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

But from an oppoſite diſpoſition, as ſoon as the French Revolution had broken out, almoſt all Europe entered into a league for its deſtruction. The aggreſſion was real long time before it was public; internal reſiſtance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were ſupported; the French Nation was inſulted in the perſon of its Agents; and England ſet particularly this example by the diſmiſſal of the Miniſter accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her ſafety, long time before the war was declared.

Thus it is to the projects of ſubjection, diſſolution, and diſmemberment, which were prepared againſt her, and the execution of which was ſeveral times attempted and purſued, that France has a right to impute the evils which ſhe has ſuffered, and thoſe which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with reſpect to ſo powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the moſt fatal conſequences.

Aſſailed on all ſides, the Republic could not but extend univerſally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that ſhe has made uſe of thoſe means which ſhe poſſeſſed, in her own ſtrength, and the courage of our citizens. As long as ſhe ſaw her enemies obſtinately refuſed to recognize her rights, ſhe counted only upon the energy of her reſiſtance: but as ſoon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invaſion, ſhe ſought for means of conciliation, and manifeſted pacific intentions; and if theſe have not always been efficacious: if, in the midſt of the critical circumſtances of her internal ſituation, which the Revolution and the War have ſucceſſively brought on, the former depoſitories of the Executive Authority in France have not always ſhewn as much moderation as the Nation itſelf has ſhewn courage, it muſt, above all, be imputed to the fatal and perſevering animoſity with which the reſources of England have been laviſhed to accompliſh the ruin of France.

But if the wiſhes of his Britannic Majeſty (in conformity with his aſſurances) are in uniſon with thoſe of the French Republic, for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, why, inſtead of attempting the apology of the war, ſhould not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obſtacle can prevent a mutual underſtanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt, eſpecially when the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic has perſonally given ſo many proofs of his eagerneſs to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his diſpoſition to maintain the rigid obſervance of all Treaties concluded?

The Firſt Conſul of the French Republic could not doubt that his Britannic Majeſty recognized the right of Nations to chooſe the form of their Government, ſince it is from the exerciſe of this right that he holds his Crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which reſts the exiſtence of Political Societies, the Miniſter of his Majeſty could annex inſinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are no leſs injurious to the French Nation, and to its Government, than it would be to England, and to his Majeſty, if a ſort of invitation were held out in favour of that Republican Government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the laſt

Century

Century; or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a Revolution compelled to deſcend from it.

If at periods not far diſtant, when the Conſtitutional Syſtem of the Republic preſented neither the ſtrength nor the ſolidity which it contains at preſent, his Britannic Majeſty thought himſelf enabled to invite a negociation and pacific conferences, how is it poſſible that he ſhould not be eager to renew negociations to which the preſent and reciprocal ſituation of affairs, promiſes a rapid progreſs. On every ſide, the voice of Nations and of Humanity implores the concluſion of a war, marked already by ſuch great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an univerſal convulſion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a ſtop to the courſe of theſe calamities, or in order that their terrible conſequences may be reproached to thoſe only who ſhall have provoked them, that the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic propoſes to put an immediate end to hoſtilities, by agreeing to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and naming Plenipotentiaries on each ſide, who ſhould repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageouſly ſituated for the quickneſs of the reſpective communications, and who ſhould apply themſelves without any delay to effect the re-eſtabliſhment of Peace and good underſtanding between the French Republic and England.

The Firſt Conſul offers to give the Paſſports which may be neceſſary for this purpoſe. (Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 24th Nivoſe (14th Jan. 1800,) 8th year of the French Republic.

LETTER FROM LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT PARIS.

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 20, 1800.

SIR,

I have the honour to incloſe to you the anſwer which his Majeſty has directed me to return to the official Note which you tranſmitted to me.

I have the honor to be, with high conſideration, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c. at Paris.

NOTE REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING.

THE official Note tranſmitted by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs in France, and received by the underſigned on the 18th inſtant, has been laid before the King.

His Majeſty cannot forbear expreſſing the concern with which he obſerves in that Note, that the unprovoked aggreſſions of France, the ſole cauſe and origin of the war, are ſyſtematically defended by her preſent Rulers, under the ſame injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be diſguiſed. His Majeſty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now univerſally exploded, and (in ſo far as they reſpect his majeſty's conduct) not only in themſelves utterly groundleſs, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the tranſaction to which they relate, and alſo by the expreſs teſtimony given at the time of the government of France itſelf.

With reſpect to the object of the Note, his Majeſty can only refer to the anſwer which he has already given.

He has explained, without reſerve, the obſtacles which, in his judgment, preclude at the preſent moment all hope of advantage from negociation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official Note; the perſonal diſpoſitions which are ſaid to prevail for the concluſion of peace, and for the future obſervance of Treaties; the power of inſuring the effect of thoſe diſpoſitions, ſuppoſing them to exiſt; and the ſolidity of the ſyſtem newly eſtabliſhed, after ſo rapid a ſucceſſion of Revolutions—all theſe are points which can be known only from that teſt to which his Majeſty has already referred them—the reſult of experience and the evidence of facts.

With that ſincerity and plainneſs which his anxiety for the re-eſtabliſhment of Peace indiſpenſably required, his Majeſty has pointed out to France the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared in terms equally explicit, and with the ſame ſincerity, that he entertains no deſire to preſcribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the ſecurity of his own dominions and of Europe; and that whenever that eſſential object can, in his judgment, be,

in

in any manner whatever, ſufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his Allies the means of immediate and joint negociations for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity.

To theſe declarations his Majeſty ſteadily adheres: and it is only on the grounds thus ſtated that his regard to the ſafety of his ſubjects will ſuffer him to renounce that ſyſtem of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of Providence, his kingdoms owe the ſecurity of thoſe bleſſings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 20, 1800.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wedneſday, Jan. 22.

MESSAGE FROM HIS MAJESTY.

Mr. Pitt having ſtated at the bar that he had a Meſſage, to lay before the Houſe from his Majeſty, was ordered to bring it up.—The Meſſage was as follows:—

"GEORGE R.

"The Supplies granted in the commencement of the preſent Seſſion having been calculated to provide only for the firſt months of the year, His Majeſty now recommends it to the Houſe to make ſuch further proviſion as they may judge neceſſary under the preſent circumſtances for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice, and for the vigorous proſecution of the war; and His Majeſty has given directions that the proper Eſtimates for this purpoſe ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

"His Majeſty has thought proper on this occaſion to direct that there ſhould be laid before the Houſe copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and of the anſwers which have been returned thereto by his Majeſty's command.

"His Majeſty entertains the fulleſt confidence that thoſe anſwers will appear to this Houſe to have been conformable to that line of conduct which was required from his Majeſty on this occaſion, by his regard to all the moſt important intereſts of his Dominions; and his Majeſty having no object more at heart than that of contributing, as ſoon as the ſituation of affairs ſhall render it practicable, to the eſtabliſhment of the general tranquillity of Europe, on a ſure and ſolid foundation; and of providing effectually for the ſecurity and permanent proſperity of his faithful People, places a firm reliance on the continued ſupport of his Parliament, and on the zeal and perſeverance of his Subjects, in ſuch meaſures as may beſt tend to confirm the ſignal advantages which have been obtained to the common cauſe in the courſe of the laſt campaign, and to conduct the great conteſt in which his Majeſty is engaged to a ſafe and honorable concluſion.

"G. R."

Mr. Pitt moved, that the Meſſage ſhould be taken into conſideration on Monday next.

BUONAPARTE has cauſed a letter, ſimilar to the firſt he wrote to the King of England, to be written to the Emperor of Germany, expreſſive of his deſire for a general peace. The reception of that overture to the Emperor, we have not heard.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

THIS month was uſhered in, with the official account of a naval action, between the American frigate Conſtellation and a French 54 gun ſhip: the Conſtellation was commanded by the gallant and indefatigable Captain Thomas Truxton, who ſeems to monopolize the glory of the national flag; and it is to be lamented, that he was prevented from taking poſſeſſion of the enemy's ſhip, by the loſs of the mainmaſt: the French ſhip was bound to France, and had one million of dollars on board.

CONGRESS of the United States.

The Bill, entitled, "An Act to eſtabliſh an uniform Syſtem of Bankruptcy throughout the United States," was paſſed; as alſo the following Bills, viz.

An

An Act to allow a Drawback on Goods exported to New-Orleans, and therein to amend the Act, entitled, An Act to regulate the Collection of Duties on Impoſts and Tonnage.

IN SENATE, *Feb.* 3.

Reſolved, by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled, two-thirds of both Houſes concurring, That the following amendment to the Conſtitution of the United States, be recommended to the adoption of the Legiſlatures of the different States, and that, when adopted by three fourths of the ſaid Legiſlatures, the ſame ſhall become a part of the ſaid Conſtitution.

That neither the Chief Juſtice, or any Judge of the United States, ſhall hold any other appointment or office under the government of the United States, or the individual States, during his continuance in office as a Judge of the United States, and that the acceptance of ſuch other office ſhall vacate the appointment of any Judge accepting the ſame.

THE NON-INTERCOURSE BILL

Was received from the Senate with two amendments. The 1ſt, ſtrikes out that part of the 4th ſec. which enabled citizens of the U. S. reſident in *France* to repair to this country, with veſſels, and other property *bona fide* belonging to them, and was concurred in. The 2d ſtrikes out the 10th ſect. which provides a ſalary of 3000 dols. for the Conſul or Agent; and to reſtrict him from trade.

The Preſident of the United States informed, he had approved the Second Cenſus Act, and the Military ſervice Land Grant Act.

The Preſident notified the Houſe, he had ſigned the *Recapture Salvage Act.*

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

SAVANNAH, FEB. 4.

A GENTLEMAN direct from Fort Wilkinſon mentions, that Col. Hawkins left there on the 24th ult. for the Creek Nation.

Extract of a Letter from Col. Hawkins, Agent of the United States for Indian affairs, to Gov. Jackſon, dated Cowetah Taliawhaſſee, 20th Dec. 1799.

"I have not till the preſent had an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favour of the 13th Nov. which was delivered me on the road to Tuckabaſchee, and I cannot reply to the whole as I could wiſh. The documents herewith encloſed will exhibit to you ſome intereſting proceedings in this quarter, and are an apology for the omiſſion. [*Theſe documents have been publiſhed ſome time ſince.*]

"The National Council was convened at Tuckabaſchee on the 24th Nov.—the meeting has been a very intereſting one. I had much converſation with the Chiefs, and felt that as an Agent I poſſeſſed their confidence in a high degree. The Chiefs have agreed that all miſchief makers and thieves of *any country* of white people, ſhall be under the government of the Agent for Indian affairs.

"Mr. Bowles is near the mouth of this river, from whence he continues to pour forth his threats againſt the officers of the United States in this department, and I continue my arrangements to puniſh all thieves and miſchief makers. We have puniſhed, in an exemplary manner, the leader of the banditti, who inſulted the Commiſſioners of Spain and the United States on the 17th of September. He was cropped, whipped, and his property deſtroyed, and three of his aſſociates whipped. We have had one white man whipped for negro ſtealing, and one negro ſhot through the arm and in the thigh, for reſiſting thoſe who were ſent to apprehend him, and attempting to fire on a white man.

"I find it an arduous undertaking, with ſo few aſſiſtants, to make the impreſſion I wiſh on the minds of my red charge, who are ſcattered over a wild country of at leaſt three hundred miles ſquare. Bowles, and other miſchief makers, are by every opportunity poiſoning the minds of the Indians with their abominable lies and miſrepreſentations.

ations. In the preſent conjuncture, I receive and reciprocate with peculiar pleaſure, the aſſurance of future co-operations on the part of your Excellency, to promote harmony and to preſerve peace. The period may be eventually a very intereſting one for your frontiers."

BALTIMORE, FEB. 18.

A letter dated late in Nov. from a gentleman of information in France, to his friend here, mentions, as the general belief in the beſt informed circles, that peace between all the belligerent powers, except France and England, will take place before ſpring—and that an accommodation between this country and France appears to be unqueſtionable.

PHILADELPHIA, FEB. 19.

Commercial Intelligence.

Mr. Fry, agent for the Inſurance Company of North America, by letters from London, of the 16th Dec. received on Monday, informs, that he has recently recovered and received payment for three claims, viz.

For the Start, Mallebay & Durand,
Riſing Sun, Wilkie, and
Hannah Poſt.

[OFFICIAL COPY.]

THE underſigned, Secretary of State, has received His Majeſty's command, to inform Mr. King, that His Majeſty has judged it expedient, to ſuſpend, for the preſent, the blockade of all the ports in the United Provinces which was eſtabliſhed by His Majeſty's orders, and which was announced to Mr. King, by the underſigned, in his Note, dated March 21ſt.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-ſtreet, Nov. 27, 1799.

BOSTON, MARCH 31, 1800.

MARRIAGES.

IN this town, Mr. Samuel Wells, to Miſs Ann Brewer, both of Boſton.

Mr. Joſeph Stevens, to Miſs Clariſſa Cuſhing.

Mr. John Etheridge, to Miſs Mary Denton.

Mr. John W. Farley, to Miſs Betſy Lewis.

By the Rev. Dr. Stillman, Mr. Robert Carter, to Miſs Catherine Jenniſon.

By the Rev. Dr. Thacher, Mr. Conſider Orcott, to Miſs Rebecca A. Downing.

By the Rev. Dr. Stillman, M. John Goodfellow, to Miſs Johanna Scott.

Mr. Aſa Lawrence, to Miſs Abigail Prout.

Mr. William Andrews, to Miſs Betſy Mingerſon.

By the Rev. Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Henry Moore, of *Bolton*, to Miſs Polly Cooke, of this town.

At *Randolph*, by the Rev. Jonathan Strong, Mr. John Odiorne, of *Boſton*, to Miſs Mary Thayer.

At *Plymouth*, by the Rev. Mr. Kendall, Rev. Ward Cotton, of *Boylſton*, to Miſs Rebecca Jackſon, of *Plymouth*.

At *Weſtford*, Mr. Samuel Stone, of Boſton, to Miſs Cracy Stodder.

At *Kingſton*, N. H. Mr. Levi Sleeper, to Miſs Betſy Lovering, of Exeter.

At *Damaſcotty*, by the Rev. John Chevers, Capt. James Smithwick, to the amiable and accompliſhed Miſs Eliza Jackſon, both of this town.

DEATHS.

IN this town, Miſs Prudence Bell, daughter of Maj. William Bell.

Miſs Betſy Weld, aged 20 years, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Weld, deputy Collector of the Cuſtoms.

Suddenly, Deacon Daniel Jones, aged 74.

Mrs. Mary Wentworth, aged 68.

Mr. Samuel Flatt, tin plate worker, aged 30.

Mrs.

Mrs. Elizabeth Wild, widow of the late Mr. Samuel Wild.

Mrs. H. Hunt, a native of England; Mr. John Driſcoll, aged 17; Mrs. Elizabeth Salmon, aged 29; Mrs S. Seward, aged 62; Mr. Ambroſe Vincent, aged 87; Mrs. Suſannah Whitmarſh, aged 69.

Mrs. Mary Knox, wife of Mr. Thomas Knox, aged 64.

Maſter Robert Hooton, 3d ſon of Mr. John Hooton, aged 4 years.

Mr. John Blake, aged 80.

Very ſuddenly, Mr. Philip Roſe, aged 27.

Mr. Jonathan Loring, aged 55.

Mr. Caleb Carter, aged 35.

Mrs. Martha Farnham, widow, aged 68.

Mr. Job Hunt, aged 63.

At *Roxbury*, Mrs. Hannah Jones, aged 25, conſort of Mr. John Jones.

At *Reboboth*, The Rev. Aaron Wheeler, a Baptiſt Miniſter.

At *Shuteſbury*, Dr. Rufus Day, aged 33 years.

At *Bridgewater*, the widow Mehetabel Otis, aged 72, relict of Dr. Iſaac Otis, late of that town, deceaſed.

At *Cambridge*, very ſuddenly, Mr. Samuel Whittemore, aged 79.

Miſs Jane Bucher, aged 88.

At *Medford*, Mrs. Mary Swain, formerly of Boſton, aged 77.

At *Watertown*, Miſs Elizabeth Coolidge, aged 16, daughter of Mr. Daniel Coolidge.

At *Shrewſbury*, Mr. Thomas H. Kemble, of this town, aged 26.

At *Newton*, Mr. Samuel Glyde, formerly of this town, aged 64.

In *Virginia*, Hon. Robert Brooke, late Governor of that State.

☞ The corpſe of Mr. N. Burke, a Catholic Clergyman, has been found in *Stoney Creek*, *Suſſex County* (Virg.) It is ſaid, he had a brother living in or near *Boſton*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

☞ IN our next, we ſhall affix a Plate of the celebrated new machine, called the PERPETUAL LOG, invented by Mr. Gould, an American,—calculated to keep a ſhip's time and diſtance.

In our next Number, we ſhall inſert the firſt part of a Novel, copied from Nature, called, *The Curate of Elonwood*: written by ANTHONY PASQUIN.

The Hermit of Virginia will be continued in our next.

The Lines from *Cambridge*, on the *Firſt of April*, are neatly written; but we think the application to a certain perſon too ſevere: we cannot be induced to believe, that folly is in ſo much requeſt as A B C imagines.

The Anecdote from *Salem*, dated *Old Times*, is not of much moment, in theſe enlightened days: we do not preciſely know when the laſt of the *wizards* expired, if any were there; but we are perfectly aſſured of the exiſtence of *witches*, at this moment.

The Obſervations on *Free-Maſonry* are made up of common-place matter, and inadmiſſible: that noble order is not to be ſhaken by ſuch a puerile aſſailant.

If *Philander* is in love, we pity him, and wiſh him as much relief as the nature of the caſe will admit: but we do not think it would be diſcreet, to lay his amorous ditties before our readers.

The *Second Number* of the *Faſhionable Review* is in contemplation:—The Muſe, anxious to appear in public, but ſtill more anxious to appear in the charms of novelty, like many of her ſex, is waiting for the cue of faſhion from the ſpring arrivals. Unemployed by the fair patroneſs, the Milliner is ſharpening the ſhears, and the Bard his pen, to furniſh ſomething new for their reſpective cuſtomers. CRITON.

Some of our Patrons have expreſſed a deſire to have the Contents of this work inſerted in the body of the Magazine; but they will pleaſe to recollect, that the Contents will be compriſed in a complete Index, at the end of every volume.

*** We have thought it proper, on mature conſideration, to requeſt the payment, for this Magazine, every four months, which will make the ſum required, preciſely *One Dollar*.

IX.

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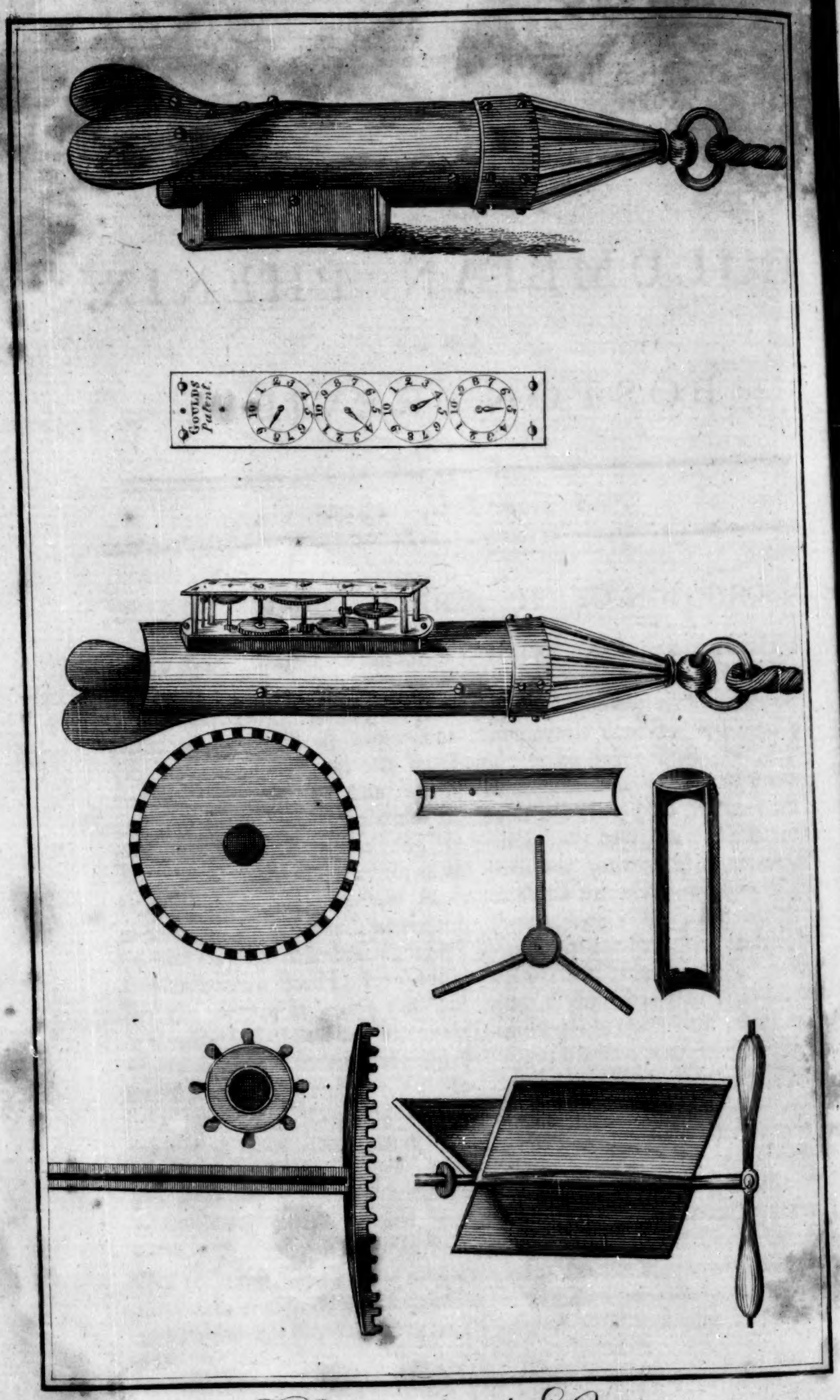

Perpetual Log.